A Journal of Media History

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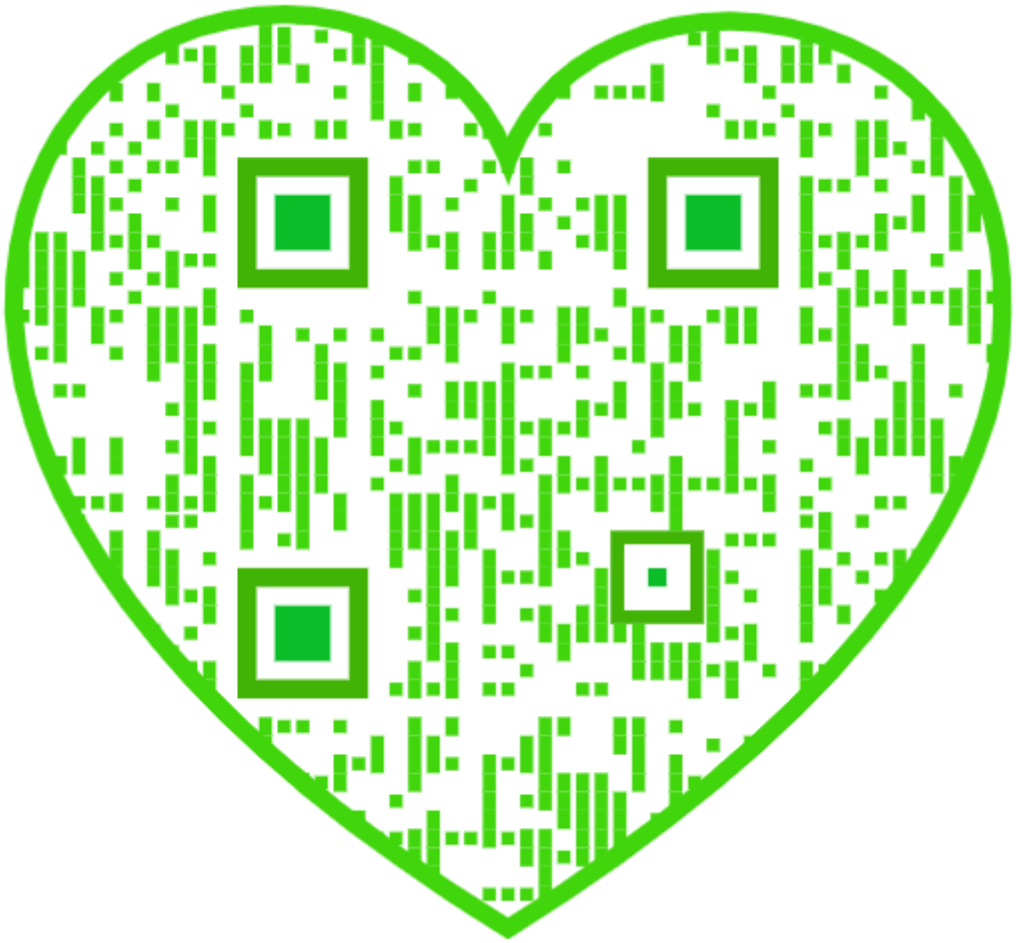

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American Journalism publishes articles, book reviews and correspondence dealing with the history of journalism. Contributions may focus on social, economic, intellectual, political or legal issues. *American Journalism* also welcomes articles that treat the history of communication in general; the history of broadcasting, advertising and public relations; the history of media outside the United States; theoretical issues in the literature or methods of media history; and new ideas and methods for the teaching of media history. Papers will be evaluated in terms of the author's systematic, critical, qualitative and quantitative investigation of all relevant, available sources with a focus on written, primary documents but not excluding current literature and interviews.

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Editor's Note

Historians, like journalists, often reflect the political and social agendas of the times in which they live. Today's professional standards and news values—good and bad—are the direct result of the daily decisions that publishers and journalists made in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, according to the authors writing in this issue of *American Journalism.*

The evolution of press ethics—the standards by which the media police themselves—is the subject of "'Truth Is Our Ultimate Goal': A Mid-19th Century Concern for Journalism Ethics" by Stephen A. Banning. Most media scholars claim that the first professional press codes in America emerged in the early 20th century, but Banning has uncovered at least one press association that developed serious concerns about journalism ethics in the mid-19th century.

In "From Populist to Patrician: Edward H. Butler's *Buffalo News* and the Crisis of Labor, 1877 - 1892," Michael J. Dillon explores the classic ethical dilemma faced by all American publishers. Can newspapers maintain their crusading spirit once they start making money? Dillon explains that New York's Edward H. Butler, like many publishers, seemed to abandon his affinity for the cause of labor once his newspaper grew successful.

Publishers also can select which people in a community deserve coverage. In the 1800s, mainstream Oregon newspapers ignored the news from Chinese communities, says Herman Chiu, in "Power of the Press: How Newspapers in Four Communities Erased Thousands of Chinese from Oregon History." Chinese immigrants comprised half the population in some Oregon cities, says Chiu, yet news about the Chinese population's activities in these cities is virtually invisible in the local newspapers.

James Hamilton's discussion of news values extends to 1930s California in his article, "Common Forms for Uncommon Actions: The Search for Political Organization in California's Dust Bowl." Hamilton examined mimeographed newspapers published by Dust Bowl migrants

to express their outrage at unhealthy working conditions and poor wages. The workers, says Hamilton, tried to organize to improve their lives, but never found a successful outlet to promote their point of view.

Just as newspapers can reflect competing news values for the times in which they are published, scholarly approaches to history often reflect the societies in which historians work. James Startt explains the evolution of scholars' historical methods in his 1998 Presidential Address, reprinted in this issue from his presentation at the Annual Conference of the American Journalism Historians Association in October 1998 in Louisville, Kentucky.

Historians can uncover the personality of one of the nation's great turn-of-the-century press lords by sifting through the vast E. W. Scripps Manuscript Collection, now available to scholars at Ohio University in Athens, Ohio. In **Great Ideas**, Gerald J. Baldasty describes the depth of the collection of 200,000 documents and letters, covering the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

For the first time ever, David Spencer ranks a video as his Editor's Choice in the Book Review section. And don't forget to check the list of available back copies on page 11 so you can complete your collection of *American Journalism*, which begins its 16th volume with this issue.

Shirley Biagi
Editor

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The following back issues of *American Journalism* are available at the cost of $3 per issue ($6 per combined issue):

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"Truth is Our Ultimate Goal": A Mid-19th Century Concern for Journalism Ethics

By Stephen A. Banning

This research examines a mid-19th century Missouri press association and presents evidence that, contrary to Frederic Hudson's contention that all press associations at the time were insignificant social organizations, at least one press assocaition had serious concerns about journalistic ethics and the future of journalism. In fact, themes in the Sigma Delta Chi and American Society of Newspaper Editors' codes of ethics mirror some early press association discussions, indicating that concern for ethics in the mid-19th century may have been a precurser to the first codes of ethics that emerged in the 20th century.

The development of codes of ethics in journalism has a special significance, as many journalism history and ethics writers have viewed codes of ethics as a benchmark of journalistic professionalization. Sociologists include codes of ethics as a major characteristic of a profession, along with professional associations and university education.[1] Thus, finding early association discussions of ethics helps establish the time period when interest in journalistic professionalization began,[2] as well as provides insights into the motivations of journalists in the 19th century.

Stephen A. Banning is Assistant Professor of Agricultural Journalism in the Department of Journalism at Texas A&M University.

To examine journalistic credibility in the mid-19th century means searching beyond the editorials of the major editors. Historians have done and redone studies of the leading journalistic figures of the 19th century. The rationale has been that only individuals influence the course of journalistic history.

Organizations, however, also can have a profound effect on history. Alexis de Tocqueville noted that associations were having a great impact on the United States during the mid- and later 19th century.[3] Some sociologists see the organization, not the individual, as the primary catalyst for professionalization. Sociologist W.J. Reader notes, "An occupation's rise to professional standing can be pretty accurately charted by reference to the progress of its professional institute or association."[4] Thus, studying early journalistic associations is vital to an understanding of professionalism in general and press codes specifically.

Evidence has recently been presented which indicates that the Missouri Press Association (MPA) was a professional association in the 19th century[5] and advocated university education.[6] This paper will look at primary sources from the MPA to see if the sources reveal some early professional discussions of journalistic ethics. The writer also will compare MPA oration topics in the mid-19th century with the American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE) and the Sigma Delta Chi (SDX) professional ethics codes of the 20th century for possible parallels.

This research does not seek to determine whether the MPA was the first press association to entertain discussions on professional aspects of journalism. Rather, this research seeks support for the hypothesis that state press associations in the mid-19th century were concerned about journalism ethics. A positive indication that the MPA discussed ethical concerns parallel to those eventually codified by the ASNE and SDX would support this hypothesis.[7]

Early Roots of Professionalization

It is important to note that this research does not relate to the scope of state press association activity during the mid-19th century. Even if there is evidence that the MPA was involved with ethical discussion at this time, this study does not claim that the MPA was the only, or first, press association to do so. Still, a positive indication that the MPA was involved with professional activity is significant because it pushes back the roots of journalistic interest in professionalization. If further research into primary sources reveals many press associations discussed these same

ethical principles, journalism historians may need to consider ascribing more importance to the role of state press associations in journalism history.

If we are to take Frederic Hudson's word in 1876, many press associations were not interested in serious matters.[8] This prompts further questions of what patterns may exist which characterize the state press associations during this period, and how they may have contributed to journalism history.

It should also be noted that the MPA was not the first press association. In 1876, Frederic Hudson described the first press club as beginning in 1851. However, Hudson describes that club, and state press associations in general, as being more in the order of drinking clubs.[9] Thus, the concept that press clubs were engaged in serious discussion, a concept central to this research, is in complete disagreement with Hudson's assessment of press clubs at the time. The researcher will use primary sources (MPA press association minutes) to investigate Hudson's charge.

Contradicting 20th Century Beginnings

The concept of journalistic professionalization beginning in the 19th century is a new concept,[10] as most journalism history accounts indicate the drive for journalistic professionalization began during the first part of the 20th century. For instance, in a 1986 article in *Journal of Mass Media Ethics*, John Merrill states journalists did not begin to call themselves professionals until after World War II, stating:

> Journalism has gone a long way toward becoming a profession....Whereas in the pre-World War II days, journalism was known as a "craft" or a "trade"—or simply not given a label at all—it is now quite common to hear it referred to as a profession.[11]

Other accounts differ. Mary Cronin and James McPherson, who researched state press association codes of ethics, claim journalists commonly referred to themselves as professionals as early as the start of the 20th century, commenting:

> The professionalism movement sweeping journalism at the start of this century also provided some of the motivation

> to create the codes. Buoyed by the press' increasing predominance in daily life, many journalists began calling their work a profession rather than an occupation or trade.[12]

Cronin and McPherson also present a lengthy list of references where journalists at the start of this century and thereafter referred to themselves as professionals.[13] In *Journalistic Standards in 19th Century America*, Hazel Dicken-Garcia notes professionalism was encouraged in the mid-1920s.[14] Marion Marzolf in *Civilizing Voices* saw journalistic professionalization as a 20th century phenomenon.[15] Marzolf remarks:

> Efforts to reform journalism in the pre-World War I era were strengthened by the formation of the first journalism departments and schools and by the start of professional organizations to promote common ideals and values.[16]

Other scholars who have shared the view that professionalization is a 20th century phenomenon include Sidney Kobre,[17] Douglas Birkhead[18] and William May.[19]

The Historic Tie Between Codes of Ethics and Professionalization

Past journalism historians such as Bert Bostrom have seen the proliferation of press codes in the 1920s as further evidence of a 20th century journalistic professionalization trend.[20] In James Melvin Lee's 1923 book *History of American Journalism*, Lee called the first few years of the 20th century a period where the nation became aware of the need for ethics and ethics codes.[21] Lee referred to the journalists' interest in ethics as a reflection of the national "trend of the times."[22] He credited the moral influence of President Woodrow Wilson, writing:

> Practically every newspaper before 1900 had been, as Mr. Watterson [editor of *The Louisville Courier-Journal*] asserted, a law unto itself, without standards of either work or duty: its code of ethics, not yet codified like those of medicine or of law, had been, like its stylebook, individualistic in character.[23]

Despite the historical emphasis on the proliferation of press codes in the 20th century, however, press codes did exist prior to the 20th century. George Payne in his 1940 book *History of Journalism in the United States*

commented that a literary magazine *Public Ledger* did have a loose set of rules as early as 1864, although Payne did not specify what they were.[24] Hazel Dicken-Garcia pointed out the presentation of six ethical principles at the Minnesota Editorial Association in 1888.[25] However, these anomalies were not the norm of 19th century journalistic behavior.

The first professional journalistic press code came into existence in 1911, according to journalism historian Hazel Dicken-Garcia,[26] or 1910, according to journalism historian Leon Flint.[27] Sigma Delta Chi (SDX) was one of the first national professional press organizations and their code was adopted in 1926.[28] According to Clifford Christians, the SDX code was an imitation of the ASNE code adopted three years earlier, but became the most nationally recognized code.[29] While the codes themselves may have been initially promoted by individual editors,[30] they were championed by professional journalism groups.[31] Thus, the historical foundation points to professional journalistic codes of ethics originating in the 20th century.

Unearthing Clues from the MPA Minutes

J.W. Barrett, a founding member of the MPA,[32] its president in 1987[33] and 1868[34] and the publisher of the Canton *Press*, recorded and compiled the MPA minutes for 10 years.[35] The MPA commissioned Barrett to keep a historical record of the MPA's proceedings, which included an agenda of events of each meeting, a narrative of the convention's highlights, along with the complete versions of the many lengthy original poems, and the full texts of the annual "orations."[36] Thus, Barrett's minutes consist of outlines of the meetings' agendas along with an almost complete record of the highlights, even the poems and orations.[37]

After the MPA's tenth convention in 1876, the MPA officials paid Barrett to print 300 copies of the full minutes for the MPA members. Barrett printed and bound the MPA minutes in volumes 136 pages long. Historian William Taft used the minutes in writing *Missouri Newspapers*[38] three decades ago, but other than that the minutes have been largely forgotten. Within the MPA minutes, discussion of ethics is very evident. The first 10 years of MPA minutes are filled with lectures on ethics, and a chronological sampling of these speeches illustrates the MPA members' passion for ethics.

For instance, in 1868 MPA member C.B. Wilkinson[39] talks at length about current standards of journalism in an oration at the MPA

annual meeting. He recognizes a higher standard of journalism than in times past by comparing MPA members to journalists during the American Revolution. Wilkinson states, "How far they fell short of our measure of public journalism."[40] Wilkinson believes the early journalists merely recorded news instead of seeking a deeper analysis of the facts. This indicates the presence of a set of standards or, in Wilkinson's words, a "measure" of journalism. Later, Wilkinson re-emphasizes the importance of ethics in stating:

> In all matters of principle the voice of the editors should be the voice which truth and right send up from his inmost soul....He cannot move counter to his own convictions of duty.[41]

The Need for Principled Journalism

The annual address the following year contains a similar reference to specific "measures." MPA member Norman J. Colman discusses the importance of principled journalism and stresses the need for editors to be open to measures which would lead to principled journalism. Colman[42] states:

> The Press either elevates the tone of the public mind or debases it—depending upon the manner in which it is conducted. If conducted upon high and honorable principles, the public mind is elevated in a corresponding degree....In all matters affecting the people, they should be found willing and eloquent advocates of all measures having the good of the people in view.[43]

Later Colman advises, "It is always better to deal with facts and principles."[44]

An address in 1873 contains a more direct reference to an unwritten code of ethics. MPA member John Marmaduke[45] says the "moral standard" of the press, while already existing, should be higher. He elaborates by scorning sensationalism and, after outlining press scandals regarding Horace Greeley and Lord Byron, he comments:

> The moral standard of the Press is not compatible with the magnitude of its power nor the measure of its responsibility. It is too ready to accommodate itself to a perverted public

> taste. It has the ability, and ought to create and lead, and not follow and pander to public sentiment.[46]

Marmaduke concludes his speech by enunciating a mission statement for journalists in which he lists a number of specific ethical standards. In enumerating ethical standards, Marmaduke states:

> Lastly, we conceive the mission of the Press to be to elevate, not debase; to enlighten, not darken; to instruct, not deceive; to inform, not mislead; to disseminate good, not evil; to propagate truth, not error,—in general, to promote the welfare of our race and bear us on to a higher destiny.[47]

Marmaduke assumed he was speaking for the entire MPA with the plural pronoun "we." He indicates an MPA mission statement.

The following year Milo Blair[48] was also concerned about sullied journalism and saw good conduct as vital if journalism were to maintain a good reputation. In 1874, Blair warns against sensationalism:

> How careful we should be with the manner in which we conduct our papers....To unsullied journalism shall our land look, and to its trumpet tones, march with the noble and free, in the van of civilization.[49]

In 1875 Mark DeMotte[50] stresses ethical journalism, the "one true foundation,"[51] when he comments:

> Give the conduct of such a paper to an educated man of good mind and morals—strong in his convictions of right, and fearless in the expression of those convictions, and there is no end to the good he may accomplish.[52]

MPA Creates Rules of Conduct

The specific MPA rules of conduct were announced the following year. At the June 6, 1876 MPA convention in Macon City, William Switzler[53] enumerated four rules which MPA members were to follow:

> *First*: Allow no temptation to secure your consent to the publication of articles long or short, in prose or poetry,

original or selected, which are demoralizing in their character....

Second: ....Give the substance. Omit the useless details....

Third: ....As preliminary to profitable writing, and as a preparation for it, much reading and study is essential. Much brain-work, and often exhaustive research and more exhaustive thought, all unknown and quite frequently unappreciated by those who read newspapers....

Fourth, and lastly: We are just entering upon the Centennial Presidential campaign....Great and singular perils and strong temptations to bitter words and partisan excesses, will environ the press. Let us illustrate a royal virtue by resisting them.... while we are sometimes *partisans* we are always *patriots*—above all, that we are not only *editors*—but *gentlemen*.[54]

There is no record that the rules were formally adopted by a vote, but the fact that the MPA enumerated proposed rules of conduct does indicate advanced thinking along the lines of associational conduct.

The ethical considerations enumerated above of 1) no demoralizing articles, 2) substantive articles, 3) intelligent articles and 4) no bitter partisan articles were not the only items of ethical concern. In fact, a number of ethical themes reoccur throughout the MPA minutes. These ethical themes, reiterated time and time again by MPA orators, closely parallel the themes in the so-called "professional" ethics codes of the 1920s.[55]

Parallels Between Early MPA Ethics and Professional Press Codes

A point-by-point comparison between the SDX and ASNE press codes, and the MPA code reveals strong similarities. This is relevant to the MPA's efforts to professionalize because the SDX manual states that the purpose of SDX is to promote professionalism.

> Sigma Delta Chi, Professional Journalistic Fraternity, is a professional society for men engaged in journalism, dedicated to the highest ideals in journalism, and is comparable to those professional organizations serving the professions of medicine and the law. In this unique role, Sigma Delta Chi constantly endeavors to raise the

standards of competence of its members, to recognize outstanding achievement by journalists and to promote recognition of the fact that journalism is a true profession.[56]

While a group of students founded SDX at DePauw University in 1909 with the purpose of benefiting "the noblest profession of them all,"[57] the ethics code wasn't adopted until 1926. The SDX press code lists eight items relating to accuracy and objectivity. They are:

1. Truth is our ultimate goal.
2. Objectivity in reporting the news is another goal, which serves as the mark of an experienced professional. It is a standard of performance toward which we strive. We honor those who achieve it.
3. There is no excuse for inaccuracies or lack of thoroughness.
4. Newspaper headlines should be fully warranted by the contents of the articles they accompany. Photographs and telecasts should give an accurate picture of an event and not highlight a minor incident out of context.
5. Sound practice makes clear distinction between news reports and expressions of opinion. News reports should be free of opinion or bias and represent all sides of an issue.
6. Partisanship in editorial comment which knowingly departs from the truth violates the spirit of American Journalism.
7. Journalists recognize their responsibility for offering informed analysis, comment and editorial opinion on public events and issues. They accept the obligation to present such material by individuals whose competence, experience and judgement qualify them for it.
8. Special articles or presentations devoted to advocacy or the writer's own conclusions and interpretations should be labeled as such.[58]

The ASNE's "Canons of Journalism" are similar. The Canons of Journalism are a list of six articles including "Responsibility," "Freedom of the Press," "Independence," "Sincerity, Truthfulness, and Accuracy," "Impartiality," and "Fair Play and Decency."[59]

Truthfulness Can Scatter Prejudice

The first item of the Sigma Delta Chi press code listed above, "Truth is our ultimate goal," or as the ASNE's Article IV puts it: "Sincerity, Truthfulness, and Accuracy" was directly referred to in almost every MPA address and is evident in a chronological look at references to truth through the first 10 years of the MPA. In 1868, in an oration, C.B. Wilkinson explicitly advocates truthfulness in one form or another four times. He hints at the concept when he remarks, "A well conducted newspaper being a record of humanity, a faithful mirror of the present...."[60] He elaborates later in the address, "Men who live after us will have the full and truthful history of our times. To be interesting and valuable, the newspaper must be truthful."[61] He devotes a full page to discussing the importance of having a "full and most reliable report of all news of the day up to the hour and moment of their publication,"[62] and then wraps up the section on truthfulness with this admonition for totality of coverage:

> This is undeniably true; and this compels the editor of a daily journal to live nearer than any other living man to the great throbbing heart of the world. He must catch its every pulsation, note its every tremor, and faithfully report its every spasm. Not a ripple on the stream of time must escape his watchful pen; no voyager launch thereon his trembling craft without his notice, and no bark go down in its angry foam, without his making the proper entry in his diurnal log.[63]

While Wilkinson discusses other issues, he returns to the topic of truthfulness as an instrument to scatter prejudice. In his conclusion, he says:

> In all matters of principle the voice of the editor should be the voice which truth and right send up from his soul.... The newspaper scatters the mists of ignorance and prejudice by flooding the pathway of man with the sunlight of truth.[64]

Thus, Wilkinson stresses the need for truth to be a guide for conduct involving "all matters of principle."

The May 19, 1869 annual address in St. Louis contains more direct references to the need for truth as a foundational principle. Norman J. Colman instructs the MPA members to avoid vindictive personal attacks

which undermine the truth,[65] expounds on the importance of truth to the progress of civilization and reveals his belief that truth is the foundation for the elevation of mankind.[66] He also sees truth as a basis of credibility, remarking:

> But if untruthful, reckless statements and assertions are published as truthful the tone of the public mind is gradually debased, [and] becomes as familiar with falsehood as with truth, and pays but little credence to anything that is published....If these lines are true, what a fearful responsibility rests upon the Editorial profession! How guarded should they be as to what appears in their respective journals.[67]

At the same convention, MPA member Thomas Garrett (unmentioned in the MPA minutes except as the author of one poem)[68] of the St. Louis *Republican* echoes Colman's sentiments in a poem called "The Giants," which refers to the journalist's stature in society. Garrett claims:

> Her [journalism's] purpose pure is hedged by vestal vow,
> And Truth's auroras dawn upon her brow.[69]

Another poem written by P.G. "Jenks" Ferguson of the Missouri *Democrat*, and presented to the 1870 MPA convention, broaches the importance of truthful journalism as a basis for progress:

> Let truth and justice still your motto be,
> Firm in your cause and fearless to its foes;
> Ranging the world of thought in fancy free,
> Kind to the weak, and tender of man's woes.[70]

In 1871, J.C. Moore[71] discusses the importance of truth as a foundation for progress and vital to the advancement of journalism. In emphasizing totality of coverage he states:

> There is no limit to the capabilities of the ideal journal of the future....While it reflects with absolute truthfulness the most minute circumstances of the every day life transpiring around it....It will follow the merchants' ships around the world.[72]

At the May 22, 1872 MPA convention in Sedalia, truth was also a component of a poem by MPA member J. N. Edwards of the Kansas City

Times.[73] In his 1872 oration Edwards paints a bleak ethical picture of the then current state of journalism, writing:

> There was Chastity faint with the fight,
> Her virtue unaided had won;
> There was Merit, too, pale in the light,
> Lest Justice left duties undone;
> Faith kneeling by altars thrown down;
> And Purity gaudily dressed;
> On Charity's face was mirrored a frown,
> Truth's azure brow had never a crown,
> Nor courage a star on his breast.[74]

The following year John S. Marmaduke's oration also stresses truth as one of the principles which constituted the mission of the press as a basis for societal progress. Marmaduke says:

> Lastly, we conceive the mission of the Press to be...to propagate truth, not error, in general, to promote the welfare of our race and bear us on to a higher destiny.[75]

Another direct reference to truth takes place in 1875 in an oration by Milo Blair on the importance of independent journalism.[76] In 1876, William Switzler admonishes MPA members to seek a high standard of truth, saying: "Accuracy of statement, not simply general truthfulness, entire reliability of detail is an object worthy of special attention."[77] Thus, truthfulness, an important element in the ASNE and SDX journalism ethics codes of the 1920s, has been found to be an important element in the ethical framework of the MPA in the 1870s as well.

The Root of the Objectivity Standard

The next ethical issue enumerated in the SDX press code is that of objectivity; this corresponds to the ASNE's Article V: "Impartiality." While this element was not a concern among MPA members as an issue by itself, the MPA minutes do stress the importance of gaining the whole truth and obtaining accurate reports. Thus, the concern of objectivity is addressed in the coverage of the issues of truth and accuracy.

Additionally, Switzler's call for MPA members to adhere to patriotism over partisanism in 1876 shows a concern for the notion of overcom-

ing prejudice to achieve a true perspective.[78] There is no direct correlation for this in the SDX code, but this seems to correspond with the ASNE's Article III, which calls for independence. This stance was not unusual among newspapers, as partisanship was dying nationwide at this time.[79]

Prescriptions for Accuracy and Completeness

The elements of accuracy and completeness, the third item in the SDX press code, and reflected in the ASNE's Article VI, calling for "Fair Play," are prescribed numerous times throughout the MPA minutes. C.B. Wilkinson delivers the first such admonition in 1868, stressing the importance of accurate reports four different times. In a quote used earlier in this paper in discussing truthfulness, Wilkinson emphasizes: "A well conducted newspaper being a record of humanity, a faithful mirror of the present, a panorama of the active scenes we daily engage in...."[80]

Wilkinson stresses the importance of accuracy in calling the newspaper a "faithful mirror," and emphasizes completeness in referring to the newspaper's coverage of the "panorama," or landscape, of humanity's activities. Wilkinson also describes the breadth of activities a newspaper covered as examples of how a newspaper is a "faithful record" of humanity's activities.[81] Wilkinson repeats this theme of completeness and accuracy again in an extended discussion of the subject two pages later, stating:

> Men who live after us will learn the full and truthful history of our stirring times, by perusing the columns of our daily newspapers....Men make equally as serious blunders, and shock the good sense of all intelligent observers quite as much when they publish in the newspapers grossly exaggerated accounts of every-day transactions, or false statements affecting the character and true standard of men who contemporaneously move on the stage of life.[82]

J.C. Moore also speaks of the value of completeness and accuracy in 1870. From the content of his words it is clear Moore was promoting completeness and accuracy as two ways to achieve truth. Moore says: "It [the newspaper] reflects with absolute truthfulness the most minute circumstances of the busy every day life transpiring around it."[83] In 1874, MPA member Milo Blair bluntly demands accuracy with this admonition: "Let all reports be as full as the occasion may require and as accurate as you can get them."[84]

In 1875, MPA member Mark DeMotte gave the subject of accuracy a thorough treatment in his annual address to the convention in a discussion covering six pages. He warns:

> That a paper is needed in a community is no assurance that a poor article will be accepted. We can no more palm off upon the people a spurious article, than can a merchant or manufacturer.[85]

DeMotte goes on to emphasize the importance of accuracy from an ethical and practical standpoint,[86] and concludes by explaining that the press' responsibility to be accurate is based on the public's "right to know."[87]

In 1876, MPA member William F. Switzler not only discusses the accuracy and completeness theme at length, but he also advocates it, describes it, and advocates it again. Switzler advises:

> Above all they [correspondents] should be specially instructed to be scrupulously correct, even in the smallest details, in all their reports; to guess at nothing because people who pay for and read newspapers desire them to be reliable.[88]

Here Switzler uses three descriptive phrases to define the term "scrupulously correct" so that there is no confusion as to its meaning. Also, the word "reliable" comes into use again as it did in earlier references to accuracy by Mark DeMotte.[89]

Due to developments in technology, not every specific concern of the SDX code in 1926 can be expected to square with the ethical concerns of the MPA during the time period of the decade following 1867. For instance, the SDX code deals with the accurate use of photographs and telecasts. Not surprisingly, there is no specific reference in the MPA minutes to any of these topics due to the fact that those technologies did not exist, or, in the case of photography, had not been adequately developed for use by newspapers.

The SDX press code also calls for news reports to be untainted by bias; this corresponds to the ASNE's Articles V and VI regarding "impartiality" and "fair play." This is a concept that has no direct parallel in the MPA minutes, although Switzler might have hinted at it in the previously mentioned admonition calling for, "entire reliability of detail."[90] However, the lack of a direct reference indicates this was a concept that did not greatly concern the MPA.

The SDX press code also calls for an end to untruthful partisanship, a point which coincides with the MPA's stand on this issue as well. Many of the references in the MPA minutes which deal with this issue have already been covered in the discussion of the MPA's concern for truth, accuracy and objectivity. William Switzler's advice that journalists were expected to be patriots, not partisans, is one example.[91] This disillusionment with partisan reporting was not unusual in Missouri at the time.[92]

Responsibility—The Obligation to Educate

The SDX code also contains an expectation of the journalist's responsibility to present information and editorials to the public regarding public issues; this corresponds to the ASNE's Article I, calling for journalistic "Responsibility." This obligation of the press to educate the public and elevate their understanding of public events and issues was a major topic in the MPA meetings and speeches.

From the first address of C.B. Wilkinson in 1868, it is evident that the MPA saw the newspaper as vital to society, and the publisher's role as one of great responsibility. Wilkinson says, "The newspaper...must be consulted on all occasions. The humanity of this day cannot exist without it. It is a prime necessity, and it should be our duty to keep it so."[93] The following year Norman J. Colman reiterates Wilkinson's concern with the newspaper's responsibility to inform the public.[94]

J.C. Moore also repeats this theme in his address to the convention of 1870. Moore places the journalist's obligation to inform above all other responsibilities, claiming: "The education and elevation of the masses in every department of knowledge will be its [the journalist's] special purpose and mission."[95] Later Moore suggests that, "The Press will have become the first of the mental agencies, having every resource...through which to reach and influence them [the public]."[96]

In 1873 John Marmaduke also emphasizes the press' obligation to disseminate information to the public. Marmaduke sees the press as not only uniquely qualified to do the job but also extremely effective in its efforts. Marmaduke boasts, "It [the press] is doing more to disseminate knowledge and to educate people up to a certain standard and at less expense than all other instrumentalities of the age."[97] Marmaduke also refers to the press' watchdog role in remarking, "By its [the press'] vigilance and omnipresence Tyranny is anticipated and its purpose defeated."[98]

The following year Milo Blair delivers the annual address and also refers to the pervasiveness of the newspaper's ability to inform. Blair comments:

> Journalism has a high and immortal mission to perform. Like a wand of a magician, its wing sweeps nearly every land, and shall yet penetrate the wildest haunts of the world, where the shadow and superstition of ignorance falls heavily over the people.[99]

One year later Mark DeMotte refers to it in more detail. DeMotte discusses the power of the press and its corresponding responsibility to inform the public in stating: "The vast power of the press—how it moulds public sentiment—how it makes and unmakes presidents and administrations—how rolling of its cylinders shakes the world and almost rules it."[100] Later in his speech DeMotte explains, "[A newspaper ought to be] the guardian of the welfare of the community, and the zealous advocate of its rights and interests."[101] In 1876 the press' obligation to inform the public was the subject of a resolution voted on by the entire MPA.[102]

That same year the obligation to inform was also a topic of William F. Switzler's 1876 address covering the press' power in its ability to inform. Switzler explained: "How it [the Press] has rendered invaluable aid to the cause of liberty, religion and literature throughout the world."[103] Switzler discusses at length the importance of the watchdog function of the press by commenting:

> [The Press is] a reflex of the opinions and an exponent and defender of the rights and interests of the people among whom it is specially circulated. It is theoretically and ought to be practically, an honest and sleepless sentinel of the watchtower of their liberties, and a guardian of their special interests, industries and activities whatever they may be.[104]

Switzler sees this watchdog aspect of the obligation to inform as a cornerstone of democracy, remarking: "I am, therefore, firmly persuaded that the perpetuity of our free institutions...depends in no small degree upon the vigorous existence and fidelity of the country press."[105]

Advocacy As Puffery

The final item in the SDX press code calls for presentations devoted to advocacy to be labeled as such; this concept is also indicated in the ASNE's Article I where the journalist is warned against using power for "selfish" motives. The MPA minutes address this topic at length as well.

The MPA's discussion of this focuses on the then common practice of puffery, the insertion of promotional pieces for people, politicians, or products into editorials which purported to be the opinion of the editor.

References to puffery appear 11 times in the MPA minutes. In a poem read at the May 10, 1870 MPA convention in Kansas City, P.G. Ferguson of the *Missouri Democrat* describes the then current newspaper as one where puffery was common. Ferguson writes:

> Puffs, lectures, meetings, local news complete,
> With now and then a dish of book reviews....
> Puffs of new books, old cuts of foreign scenes—
> Such is the magazine of modern fashion.[106]

Later in the poem Ferguson compares those who propagated puffery with Judas Iscariot. He writes:

> This journal stooped, and like a mousing owl,
> Sold its opinions with unblushing face
> And smeared its sacred robes with offal foul.
> Judas, who sold his Master, we despise,
> Yet poverty, perchance, was his excuse;
> But who can view, with charitable eyes,
> This venal slayer of the golden goose![107]

The next discussion of puffery occurs in another poem. This one was written by C.B. Wilkinson and was delivered in 1871. In the poem called "The Editor," Wilkinson pokes fun at the typical editor who engages in puffery. Wilkinson writes:

> Who puffs lean men to swelling notoriety,
> And blows up many an office-holding "flat."[108]

In 1874 MPA member Milo Blair challenges the puffery issue head on in his address to the convention. Blair warns:

> I am satisfied that the custom of wholesale puffing, as generally practiced by the press, is doing journalism no little injury. So much of it is done on worthless persons especially, we hardly know where or when to look for true merit.[109]

Blair also specifically addresses political puffs in a manner parallel to that of the SDX press code and ASNE Canons. Blair advises:

> It [a politician's ad] must appear as an advertisement paid for by him and not as our judgement and opinion. Our readers have a right to know whether what we say of the fitness of a man for party nomination is our own belief or the drivel of a hired brain.[110]

The following year, in 1875, Mark DeMotte discusses the importance of abandoning the use of puffs. DeMotte states:

> I express the opinion of every practical newspaper man in this house, when I say that to print paid personal puffs, as our own editorial or local opinion, is a prostitution of our paper wholly inexcusable; and if indulged in to any great extent, will bring the just contempt of the public upon us.[111]

From the previous references it is clear the MPA advocated doing away with the practice of puffery. The speeches showed the MPA's contempt in that there were comparisons of editors who engaged in the practice of puffery to traitors and prostitutes.

An Early Standard for Excellence

The evidence seems to indicate that this state press association was involved in discussing serious aspects of journalism. This appears to contradict Frederic Hudson's previously mentioned characterization that press associations were not of a serious nature. Further research could be directed at examining the minutes and other primary records of press associations in the 19th century for patterns of interest in professional development.

It may be that Hudson's characterization, while not universally inaccurate, did apply to some press associations. The reasons for differences in early press association characterization could reveal how journalists in different geographic areas perceived themselves and their relationship to journalism. Perhaps frontier journalists were more or less likely to feel a need to professionalize.

Perhaps the predominance of certain political forces influenced editors. A search for patterns among press association minutes could begin to fill in pieces of the puzzle regarding the influence of 19th century state press associations on journalism history.

Endnotes

[1]Marianne Allison, "A Literature Review of the Approaches to the Professionalization of Journalists," *Journal of Mass Media Ethics* 1, no. 2 (spring/summer 1986): 6; A.M. Carr-Saunders, "Professions: Their Organization and Place in Society," (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928), 3; Robert Dingwal and Philip Lewis, *The Sociology of the Professions: Lawyers, Doctors and Others* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983), 8; Abraham Flexner, "Is Social Work a Profession?" *School and Society* 1 (1915): 901-11; Ernest Greenwood, "Attributes of a Profession," *Social Work* 3 (July 1957): 44; Everett Cherrington Hughes, *Men and Their Work* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1958), 134; Wilbert E. Moore, *The Professions: Roles and Rules* (New York: Russel Sage Foundation, 1970), 123; Talcott Parsons, "Professions," *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, ed. David Sills, 12 (New York: 1968): 545.

[2]Sociologist Wilbert Moore defines stages of professionalization. These include a group's attainment as (1) an occupation, (2) a calling, (3) a formalized organization, (4) an organization requiring education, (5) an organization with a service orientation, and (6) an organization enjoying autonomy. Wilbert E. Moore, *The Professions: Roles and Rules* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1970), 4. An overview of the problems of defining journalistic professionalization can be found in a dissertation by Patricia Louise Dooley, Development of American Journalistic Work in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: Journalists, Politicians, Political Communication, and Occupational Boundaries, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1994, 13-29.

[3]Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (New York: Vintage Books, 1945), 138; Richard Taub, *American Society in Tocqueville's Time and Today* (Chicago: Rand McNally College Pub. Company, 1974), 90.

[4]W.J. Reader, *Professional Men* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966), 161.

[5]Mid-19th century sources indicate MPA members understood professionalization and saw the MPA as a professional association. Sources indicate other press clubs at the time were bohemian in nature and resembled drinking clubs. Stephen Banning, "The Missouri Press Association: A Study of the Beginning Motivations, 1867 - 1876" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the annual American Journalism Historian's Association Conference, Lawrence, Kansas, Oct. 1992), 1-21; William Switzler, "Publisher's Convention," *Missouri Statesman*, May 10, 1867, 2; William Switzler, "Lawyers Arrested," *Missouri Statesman*, May 1867, 4; William Switzler, "Missouri Editor's and Publisher's Association," *Missouri Statesman*, May 15, 1867, 2; John Weeks Moore, *Historical Notes on Printers and Printing 1420 To 1886* (Concord: Republican Press Association, 1886), 251-69; Augustus Maverick, *Henry J. Raymond and the New York Press for Thirty Years: Progress of American Journalism From 1840 To 1870* (Hartford: A.S. Hale and Company, 1870), 328-29; Frederic Hudson, *Journalism in the United States From 1690 -1872* (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1873). 665; Alfred McClung Lee, *The Daily Newspaper in America* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937), 123-24; "Among the Associations," *Newspaperdom* 1, no. 7 New York: Chas S. Patteson (November-December 1892): 16; Gerald Baldesty, *The Commercialization of News in the Nineteenth Century* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992), 101; Sidney Kobre, *Development of American Journalism* (Dubuque: Wm. C. Brown Company Publishers, 1969), 725.

[6]Stephen Banning, "Unearthing the Origin of Journalistic Education" (paper presented at the Association of Educators in Journalism and Mass Communication Midwest Journalism History Conference, April 1994), 1-13.

[7]The Sigma Delta Chi was founded in 1909; the American Society of Newspaper Editors was founded in 1922. The ASNE, however, was the first to adopt a formal code of ethics in 1923. The Sigma Delta Chi code was adopted a few years later and paralled the ASNE code. According to Clifford Christians, the Sigma Delta Chi code became the most recognized press code. Clifford Christians, "Enforcing Media Codes," *Journal of Mass Media Ethics* 1, no. 1 (fall/winter 1985-86): 14.

[8]Frederic Hudson, *Journalism in the United States From 1690-1872* (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1873). 666.

[9]Hudson, 666.

[10]Stephen Banning, "Unearthing the Origin of Journalistic Professionalization in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," MA thesis, University of Missouri, 1993, 100.

[11]John C. Merrill, "Professionalization: Danger to Press Freedom and Pluralism," *Journal of Mass Media Ethics* 1, no. 2 (spring/summer, 1986): 56; Merrill expresses a similar viewpoint in *Imperative of Freedom: A Philosophy of Journalistic Autonomy* (New York: Hastings House, Publishers, 1976), 123-42.

[12]Mary Cronin and James McPherson, "Reaching for Professionalism and Respectability: The Development of Ethics Codes in the 1920's," (paper presented at the annual American Journalism Historian's Association Conference, Lawrence, Kansas, Oct. 1992), 4.

[13]Ibid., 20.

[14]Hazel Dicken-Garcia, *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth Century America* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 233.

[15]Marion Tuttle Marzolf, *Civilizing Voices: American Press Criticism 1880-1950* (New York: Longman Publishing Group, 1991), 14.

[16]Ibid., 50.

[17]Kobre, *Development of American Journalism*, 733-36.

[18]Douglas Birkhead, "The Power in the Image: Professionalism and the Communications Revolution," *American Journalism* 1, no. 2 (winter 1984): 3; Douglas Birkhead, "News Media Ethics and the Management of Professionals," *Journal of Mass Media Ethics* 1, no. 2 (spring/summer 1986): 37.

[19]William F. May "Professional Ethics, The University and the Journalist," *Journal of Mass Media Ethics* 1, no. 2 (spring/summer, 1986): 20.

[20]Bert Bostrom, *Talent, Truth and Energy: Society of Professional Journalists Sigma Delta Chi* (Chicago: Society of Professional Journalists, 1984), 18.

[21]James Melvin Lee, *History of American Journalism* (New York: Garden City Publishing Co., Inc., 1923), 388.

[22]Ibid.

[23]Ibid.

[24]George Payne, *History of Journalism in the United States* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Incorporated, 1940), 251.

[25]Garcia, *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth Century America*, 257.

[26]Ibid., 8.

[27]Leon Nelson Flint, *The Conscience of the Newspaper* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1925), 429.

[28]Clifford Christians, "Enforcing Media Codes," *Journal of Mass Media Ethics* 1, no. 1 (fall/winter 1985-86): 14.

[29]Ibid.

[30]Cronin and McPherson, "Reaching for Professionalism and Respectability," 1.

[31]Christians, "Enforcing Media Codes," 14.

[32]J.W. Barrett, comp., *History and Transactions of the Editors and Publishers Association of Missouri* (Canton: Canton Press Print, 1876), 1.

[33]Ibid., 2.

[34]Ibid., 7.

[35]Barrett, an interesting historical figure himself, began the Canton *Press* in 1862 with reconstructed equipment from a paper destroyed by Union soldiers and, along with MPA colleague Norman J. Colman, became a University of Missouri curator in 1870. Floyd Calvin Shoemaker, *Missouri and Missourians: Land of Contrast and People of Achievement* (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Company, 1943), Vol. 1, 1005; Floyd Calvin Shoemaker, "History of the First Fifty Years of the Missouri Press Association," 1917, Unpublished Manuscript, State Historical Society of Missouri Library, 161.

[36]Barrett, *History and Transactions*, Preface.

[37]The one exception to this is the oration given during the convention of 1872, held in Sedalia, Missouri. Barrett could not find a copy of this oration and notes in the Minute's preface that the text of this oration had to be omitted. There is also no oration for the 1870 convention due to the fact that the delegated orator Stilson Hutchins, editor of the St. Louis *Times* and eventual founder of the *Washington Post*, did not show up at the convention, and the MPA officials dispensed with the annual oration for that year. Geo. P. Rowell, *American Newspaper Directory: 1871* (New York: Geo. P. Rowell & Co., 1871), 84; Edward J. Gallagher, *Founder of the Washington Post: A Biography of Stilson Hutchins 1838-1912* (Laconia: Citizen Publishing Company, 1965), 7.

[38]William H. Taft, *Missouri Newspapers* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1964).

[39]C.B. Wilkinson published a daily Republican newspaper called the *Herald* and became MPA president in 1871. He later moved to Colorado, published the *Denver Republican* and became a prominent member of the Colorado Press Association. Moore, *Historical Notes on Printers and Printing 1420 To 1886*, 255; Barrett, *History and Transactions*, 4, 43; Rowell, *American Newspaper Directory: 1871*, 83.

[40]C.B. Wilkinson, "May 24, 1868 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in *History and Transactions*, 16.

[41]Ibid.

[42]Colman was experienced in the traditional professions. In addition to being licensed to teach and practice law, he had also attended a seminary. He published *Colman's Rural World*, was a University of Missouri curator, and ran for lieutenant governor in 1868. He would eventually become the first United States Secretary of Agriculture. His journal is still published today under the title *The Missouri Ruralist*. Barrett, *History and Transactions*, 17, 7; Jonas Viles, *The University of Missouri: A Centennial History 1839-1939* (E.W. Stephens Company: Columbia, 1939), 164; Frank F. Stephens, *The History of the University of Missouri* (University of Missouri Press: Columbia, 1962), 262, 267-68; Shoemaker, *Missouri and Missourians*, 991; Walter Bickford Davis and Daniel Durrie, *An Illustrated History of Missouri Comprising Its Early Record, and Civil, Political and Military History* (St. Louis: A.J. Hall and Company 1876), 490-91.

[43]Norman J. Colman, "May 19, 1869 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," *in History and Transactions*, 23. Historians spell Colman's name "Colman" at times. In fact, it is spelled both ways in various parts of the MPA minutes. It is possible that Colman preferred the shorter version for his newspaper *Colman's Rural World*.

[44]Ibid., 22.

[45]Marmaduke studied in Europe, at Harvard and Yale, and was known as a scholar. His father was a governor of Missouri and his father-in-law a doctor. Marmaduke himself became governor in 1885. W.L. Webb, *Battles and Biographies of Missourians Or The Civil War Period of Our State* (Kansas City: Hudson-Kimberly Publishing Company, 1903), 311; Shoemaker, *Missouri and Missourians*, Vol. 2: 96, 106.

[46]John Marmaduke, "May 27, 1872 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in *History and Transactions*, 73.

[47]Ibid.

[48]Milo Blair ran a small newspaper with a circulation of 960. Geo. P. Rowell, *American Newspaper Directory: 1873* (New york: Geo. P. Rowell & Co., 1873), 120, 126.

[49]Milo Blair, "May 20, 1874 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in *History and Transactions*, 86-87.

[50]Mark DeMotte ran a small newspaper with a circulation of about 1,000. Rowell, *American Newspaper Directory: 1873*, 123.

[51]Mark DeMotte, "May 26, 1875 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in *History and Transactions*, 99.

[52]Ibid.

[53]William Switzler was active both in the MPA and in politics. His newspaper was known as a major Whig voice in the state. John Vollmer Mering, *The Whig Party in Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1967), 103; Shoemaker, *Missouri and Missourians*, Vol. 1, 990-91; Barrett, *History and Transactions*, 19, 65, 90.

[54]William Switzler, "June 6, 1876 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in *History and Transactions*, 131-33.

[55]Banning, "Unearthing the Origin of Journalistic Professionalization in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," 76-99.

[56]Victor E. Bluedorn, *Sigma Delta Chi Manual* (no publisher or publication location listed, 1959), 7.

[57]William Meharry Glenn, *The Sigma Delta Chi Story: 1909-1949* (Coral Gables: Glade House, 1949), 22.

[58]Bert Bostrom, *Talent, Truth and Energy: Society of Professional Journalists Sigma Delta Chi* (Chicago: Society of Professional Journalists, 1984), 177.

[59]Paul Alfred Pratte, *Gods Within the Machine: A History of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, 1923-1993* (Connecticut: Praeger, 1995), 205-7; Alice Fox Pitts, *Read All About It: 50 Years of ASNE*, (American Society of Newspaper Editors, 1974), 359-61.

[60]Wilkinson, "May 24, 1868 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," *in History and Transactions*, 13.

[61]Ibid.

[62]Ibid.

[63]Ibid.

[64]Ibid.

[65]Colman, "May 19, 1869 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in *History and Transactions*, 22.

[66]This concept of progress through truth was popularized in the mid-n19th century by John Stuart Mill's essay *On Liberty* (1859). Mill wrote that public criticism was vital and restraining the press was tyranny, as he saw truth as a necessary condition in a democracy. G.L. Williams, *John Stuart Mill on Politics and Society* (New York: International Publications Service, 1976), 35-41; R.J. Halliday, *John Stuart Mill* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1976), 117.

[67]Colman, "May 19, 1869 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in *History and Transactions*, 23.

[68]Barrett, *History and Transactions*, 7; Thomas E. Garrett, "The Giants," in *History and Transactions*, 30.

[69]Garrett, "The Giants," in *History and Transactions*, 30.

[70]P.G. Ferguson, "The Press," in *History and Transactions*, 59.

[71]J.C. Moore had a diverse career, serving in the Confederate Army as a Colonel under fellow MPA member Major -General John Marmaduke. By the time Moore joined the MPA, he had been licensed to practice law, had served in the Colorado legislature, was the first mayor of Denver, had worked at the St. Louis *Times* and had co-founded the Kansas City *Times*. Webb, *Battles and Biographies of Missourians*, 362; Gallagher, *The Founder of the Washington Post*, 61.

[72]J.C. Moore, "May 24, 1871 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in *History and Transactions*, 48.

[73]Edwards was coeditor of the Kansas City *Times* along with fellow MPA member J.C. Moore (Moore and Charles Dougherty had started the *Times* four years earlier). Edwards was active in the MPA, attending the MPA charter formation in 1868, as part of a nominating committee in 1869 and as MPA Secretary in 1870. He would become known as one of Missouri's outstanding authors. Geo P. Rowell, *The Men Who Advertise* (New York: Nelson Chesman, 1870), 681; Webb, *Battles and Biographies of Missourians*, 363; Rowell, *American Newspaper Directory: 1871*, 81; Barrett, *History and Transactions*, 18, 42; Walter Williams, *The State of Missouri* (Columbia: E.W. Stephens Press, 1904), 220.

[74]J.N. Edwards, "The Press," in *History and Transactions*, 63.

[75]John S. Marmaduke, "May 27, 1873 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in *History and Transactions*, 73.

[76]Blair, "May 20, 1875 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in *History and Transactions*, 99.

[77]Switzler, "June 6, 1876 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in *History and Transactions*, 128.

[78]Ibid., 133.

[79]Dicken-Garcia, *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth Century America*, 175; Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers* (New York: Basic Books Inc, Publishers, 1978), 65.

[80]Wilkinson, "May 24, 1868 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in *History and Transactions*, 8.

[81]Ibid., 10.

[82]Ibid., 13-14.

[83]Moore, "May 24, 1871 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in *History and Transactions*, 48.

[84]Blair, "May 20, 1874 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in *History and Transactions*, 85.

[85]DeMotte, "May 26, 1875 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in *History and Transactions*, 101.

[86]Ibid.

[87]Ibid.

[88]Switzler, "June 6, 1876 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in *History and Transactions*, 126.

[89]DeMotte, "May 26, 1875 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in *History and Transactions*, 101.

[90]Ibid., 128.

[91]Ibid., 133.

[92]H.C. McDougal, "A Decade In Missouri Politics 1860 To 1870," 8 March 1904, Manuscript, The State Historical Society of Missouri, 13.

[93]Wilkinson, "May 24, 1868 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in *History and Transactions*, 9.

[94]Colman, "May 19, 1869 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in *History and Transactions*, 21.

[95]Moore, "May 24, 1871 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in *History and Transactions*, 48.

[96]Ibid., 50.

[97]Marmaduke, "May 27, 1873 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in *History and Transactions*, 71.

[98]Ibid., 72.

[99]Blair, "May 20, 1874 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in *History and Transactions*, 86.

[100]DeMotte, "May 26, 1875 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in *History and Transactions*," 93.

[101]Ibid., 99.

[102]F.A. Jones, "June 6, 1876 Missouri Press Association Miscellaneous Business," in *History and Transactions*, 116.

[103]Switzler, "June 6, 1876 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in *History and Transactions*, 123.

[104]Ibid., 125.

[105]Ibid.

[106]Ferguson, "The Press," in *History and Transactions*, 56-57.

[107]Ibid., 58.

[108]Wilkinson, "The Editor," in *History and Transactions*, 50.

[109]Blair, "May 20, 1874 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in *History and Transactions*, 85.

[110]Ibid., 104.

[111]DeMotte, "May 26, 1875 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in *History and Transactions*, 102.

From Populist to Patrician: Edward H. Butler's *Buffalo News* and the Crisis of Labor, 1877-1892

By Michael J. Dillon

Edward H. Butler founded the Buffalo Sunday Morning News *in 1873 for two reasons: To fight the entrenched interests that controlled the city's politics, economics and journalism, and to fulfill his dream of becoming a respected and wealthy newspaper publisher. He succeeded at both. In time, however, the twin forces that converged to shape his identity and fuel his rise to fame and influence—civic idealism and hardheaded entrepreneurship — diverged.*

Butler brought a new journalism to Buffalo—independent, populist, defiant, modern. But the success that journalism wrought served to make his life and interests remote from the very people he championed. Within two decades, Butler was transformed from friend of workingmen to foe of labor and labor unions. This paper explores the responses of Butler's Buffalo News *to the great labor disturbances of 1877 and 1892 and shows how the passionate reformist editor who championed labor during the first strike grew into a wealthy and established member of the elite who denounced labor and called for its defeat by arms during the second.*

The "new journalism" of the post-Civil War period left two important legacies. With its crusading fervor, political independence, and fact-based (if sensational) style of inquiry

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into human affairs, the new journalism established an unprecedented social influence for journalism. Its very success as a force of social change and advocacy, however, also launched it towards unprecedented profits and economic influence. At some point, it was inevitable that crusading journalists would cease to crusade against a system that benefited them so handsomely.[1]

The period of new journalism left the institution of journalism with a conundrum: Is journalism primarily an engine of democracy or of commerce? For the historian, the question is more complex: Why did the economic legacy of the newspaper press grow so powerful while its crusading legacy dimmed as the 20th century dawned?

Edward H. Butler, who founded the Buffalo *Sunday Morning News* in 1873 and took it daily in 1880, was one of a generation of mavericks who created the new journalism. In the years after the Civil War, men like Butler, Joseph Pulitzer, Melville Stone, and E.W. Scripps melded the idealistic spirit of earlier papers like Horace Greeley's *New York Tribune* and the sensational methods of the ante bellum penny press to carve out a vital new role in civic life for newspapers.

Cheap, broad and accessible, the new journalism was predicated on political independence and civic leadership. By bringing readers up-to-date news heretofore neglected by the party press, and by advocating on behalf of those on the margins of power, the new journalists built huge and loyal readerships—and accumulated substantial political and economic capital.

Rejecting partisan support, the commercially-driven new journalism found far wealthier sponsors in free-spending advertisers who wished to reach the papers' vast audiences. Independent, commercial newspapers like the *New York World* and the *Buffalo News* became formidable enterprises in their cities.[2]

The conflict between the democratic impulses and the economic bounty inherent in the new journalism was played out dramatically in the career of Butler, whose evolution as a journalist and entrepreneur offers a troubling case study of how the wealth and power the new journalism created eventually undermined new democratic possibilities for journalism.

This article examines a facet of Butler's career that illuminates the social and economic conflicts embedded in the age of new journalism: Butler's relationship with Buffalo's workers, which changed drastically as his newspaper brought him ever greater success and wealth.

Specifically, the article explores the response of Butler and his *News* to two of the great labor conflicts of the Gilded Age—the rail strike of

1877 during which Butler vociferously defended laborers and encouraged them to exercise their political will against capitalists and the state; and the Great Strike of 1892, during which Butler denounced newly organized workers and called for the state to break the strike.[3]

Newspapers Promoted Partisanship

When Butler established the *Sunday Morning News* in 1873, he found a newspaper field crowded with political and commercial journals that catered to a small elite. Papers like the *Democratic Courier* and its partisan rival *The Republic* narrowly defined news as the official acts of politicians and the political opinions of editors.[4]

Because of their narrow focus and limited appeal to those outside the partisan loop, the combined circulation of the city's commercial and partisan papers in 1875 barely exceeded 10,000 in a city of 131,000 people.[5] Butler aimed his new sheet at those ignored by partisan politics. Within two years, he had 12,000 readers—more than all his rivals combined.[6]

The *News* grew by attacking political and economic elites on behalf of Buffalo's ordinary citizens—shopkeepers, fledgling entrepreneurs, and workingmen. In his first editorials, Butler denounced the political "rings"—as he and other reformers referred to the parties—and the newspapers that supported them.

The paper boasted it was "The Firm Friend and Acknowledged Organ of the People"[7] that "Dares Call a Liar a Liar and a Villain a Villain."[8] It described its principles thus: "We desire to see ring rule destroyed, we desire to see honest men elected by the people, and held responsible to them and not to a party or clique of men."[9] The paper was also cheap. The *Sunday Morning News* cost 5 cents, but did not require a subscription, and the daily sheet, which debuted in 1880, cost but a penny; both were hawked aggressively in the street.

The *News* condemned its partisan rivals as "low scums" who cared only for personal or political gain and who "pandered to obsolete ideas."[10] The *News* warned that "until new ideas are infused, until a more progressive race springs up from the ashes of old fogeyism, Buffalo must be far behind many of its sister cities."[11]

Creates a Political Constituency

To that end, the *News* exposed and denounced municipal graft. In 1875, it successfully stitched together a bi-partisan "People's Ticket" that

prevented either political party from dominating civic affairs. The campaign blended the papers' economic and political power as the *News* recast its 10,000 paying readers as "10,000 honest voters."[12] *News* readers were not a mere audience but a constituency.

From the its earliest days, a progressive social agenda guided the paper. In 1874 the paper crusaded against the sale of diseased meat.[13] In 1876, it exposed patent medicine frauds.[14] In September of 1878 alone it exposed the abysmal working conditions and wages of contract sewing girls and crusaded for laws to protect Buffalo's citizens from adulterated milk being sold in the city.[15] In 1881 it mounted a crusade on behalf of impoverished Polish immigrants that rivaled in intensity and literary merit the crusades Joseph Pulitzer would become famous for with the *New York World*, which he bought in 1883.[16]

As it built circulation and influence, the *News* courted, and advocated for, workingmen. One of the paper's first regular features debuted in 1874. In the Labor Column, Butler implored workers "to come to the front and show your power and independence."[17]

Butler used the Labor Column to guide workers in the acquisition of political and economic power and frequently gave it over to labor leaders. The inaugural Labor Column announced that, "The workingmen have long needed an independent channel for their thoughts—one in which all have an equal right to give expression to their views and one which is perfectly unbiased."[18]

Butler's affinity for workingmen was not merely political; in many respects he was one of them. The son of an itinerant preacher, as a boy Butler was apprenticed as a printer's devil at the newspaper in rural LeRoy, New York. Later, he was a reporter and editor on a series of partisan newspapers in Pennsylvania's hardscrabble anthracite coal region. As a fledgling publisher, Butler not only supplied most of the *News*' content, but shepherded the paper through the press and then personally delivered it to Buffalo's suburbs.

Butler found both news and an eager audience among the ranks of the workingmen. His transformation from populist to patrician can be traced to his relationship with these workers over the course of 20 years—from his days as a struggling entrepreneur to his ascendance to wealthy master of capital and labor.

By 1892, when the New York Publishers Association convened its annual meeting in Buffalo, Butler was the dean of the city's publishers and one of its wealthiest citizens. By the mid-1890s the *News* was recording monthly revenues of almost $50,000 and Butler was paying himself a quarterly salary of more than $12,000.[19]

Butler had originally boasted of his "manly independence"[20] in politics but two decades after founding his newspaper in opposition to partisan politics and journalism he was not only personally convinced of the soundness of Republican policies, but a figure of power within the party and served as a delegate to many conventions.[21]

So much had changed. Butler had come to Buffalo to challenge its political rings and offer a new style of journalism as a moral beacon for the community. In his keynote address to colleagues from around the state, however, Publishers Association President Edward H. Butler would offer a new and very different vision for his profession.

Publishing Newspapers for Profit

At the dais, Butler mocked those who wasted time talking of the "loftier mission" of the press—namely moral, political and social leadership.[22] He congratulated his peers for coming "to the understanding that the publishing of a newspaper is a business as well as conducting a dry goods store, a grocery or a railroad, and like those enterprises a business conducted mainly for profit."[23]

When Butler had declared independence from partisanship nearly 20 years earlier, he did so because he envisioned a nobler mission for the press:

> The press of the land, the mouthpiece of the nation, should be untrammeled by party subserviency; it should be free to denounce corruption, to expose dishonest schemes, and warn the people at the first tocsin of alarm. If it does so, it accomplishes its mission, failing to do so it is a timeserver, and its mission is one of evil instead of good to the masses.[24]

Now, however, the pursuit of profit—and the maintenance of a civic order designed to protect it— appeared to be Butler's guiding, and perhaps only, principle. He told the assembled:

> I don't wish our members to regard this address as all on the money side of it, but when you come right down to the foundation, it is pretty nearly what you are publishing newspapers for. 'Money,' said the elder Bennett, 'is the root of all evil, but give me the root.'[25]

As Edward H. Butler's social and economic status had changed, his relationships with Buffalo's constituencies also naturally changed and

none underwent a more radical change than his relationship with the workingmen he had originally championed. Uncomfortably for Butler, that relationship reached a crisis at the very moment he entertained his peers and touted the virtues of Buffalo.

The publishers who visited Buffalo that summer were treated to concerts, tours of the city and a visit to Niagara Falls. In a daily box headlined "A Few Cold Facts About Buffalo," the *News* boasted about the 33 rail lines that entered the city, its booming population, which was approaching 300,000, and its 2,500 factories. Spread out along the Niagara River and the shores of Lake Erie, the city was a center for lake and rail traffic.[26] Things could not have looked brighter.

But everywhere that summer, labor warfare threatened the social order that made such industrial growth possible. Each day of the convention, stories that detailed the publishers' doings ran side by side with ominous reports of violent clashes between capital and labor in Homestead, Cleveland, Detroit, Spokane, and Coeur d'Alene, Idaho.

The labor trouble that haunted Buffalo that summer was hardly the work of radicals. The unrest originated at the Homestead Steel Plant outside of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. In an attempt to destroy the nascent American Labor Federation, Henry Frick, general manager of the Carnegie Steel Company, had summarily announced that wages at the plant would be cut, and that the company would begin to hire non-union men. These moves were deliberately provocative, designed to force a fight with the union before it got any stronger. "Frick had patiently tried to force the workmen into opposition and he had succeeded."[27] Even before his announcement, Frick had Pinkerton guards at the ready to put down the protest he was hoping to provoke.[28]

Frick's scheme was ill-considered. The Homestead workers initially routed the Pinkertons at Homestead in one of the bloodiest labor clashes in US history, prompting Pennsylvania's governor to send in the National Guard and igniting strikes that spread along the rail lines that connected these plants in a vast industrial grid.

Butler Opposed Labor in 1892

Butler feared that the strikes roaring through other cities would soon reach Buffalo. When they did, he wanted the city's business and political leaders to be prepared.

On July 13, 1892, in the midst of the Homestead Steel clash, a *Buffalo News* editorial applauded the decision of Pennsylvania Governor

William Pattison to call in the state militia to break the strike.[29] The *News* warned that Buffalo's leaders should not hesitate to demand similar military protection:

> The business men of Buffalo who have property to lose know how to appreciate the respect in which the National Guard is held in this and other States. They know what inspires that respect . . . It is because our State regiments are composed of manly, courageous, well-disciplined men that they inspire respect when they are called out to prevent disorder as well as quell it.[30]

While the editorial held out hope that the violence would not engulf Buffalo, it asserted that should it come, "the National Guardsmen are our best protection against riot and destruction of property."[31]

Butler looked to the past for assurances that Buffalo's future, and the hegemony of its leaders, would not be harmed by rebellious workers. "Not a great many years ago—only 15," the editorial said, "Buffalo had to be protected by the National Guard during the great railroad strikes, and the soldiers did their work gallantly and well. Their presence at the point of disturbance prevented a serious outbreak, and prevention is always better in such cases than cure."[32]

Butler's history lesson was nothing short of astonishing. Fifteen years earlier, he had offered a far different vision of the place of workingmen in the city, and his newspaper had told a far different story of the militia's role in quelling the strike. The difference between the views of the young, struggling Edward H. Butler who was scorned in the 1870s by his partisan rivals for his populist sympathies, and the older, prosperous Butler who was being honored as a leader of the state and city press in 1892, reveals much about the evolution of the man, his newspapers, and the city.

The militia *had* become embroiled in the great strike of 1877, that much was true. But little else of the lesson Butler drew from the strike corresponded with stories and editorials he had published then. The 1877 strike had also begun in the Southern Alleghenies, in West Virginia, where rail crews abandoned their trains over a wage decrease and refused to let trains manned by replacement workers leave the yards.[33] The strike quickly spread up the Erie Road, reaching Buffalo in early June. Butler's *Sunday Morning News* declared, "Never before in the history of the city did a public demonstration assume so suddenly such formidable proportions, and so many ugly features."[34]

Butler Supported Strikers in 1877

When the firemen and brakemen of the Buffalo and Erie Railroad stopped working and began to halt all rail traffic into and out of the city, state officials rushed to defeat them with force. Many city newspapers applauded the decision to send the state militia to Buffalo, and urged soldiers to deal with strikers decisively and brutally, to "shoot these men down like beasts."[35]

The *News*, in contrast, defended the workers and condemned military intervention. The paper asserted that the rail workers had every right to strike in the face of an unfair wage reduction, and castigated the governor for allowing railroad management "to call upon the military to settle a business question."[36]

The *News* charged that rather than considering the particulars of the Buffalo situation, the governor had acted out of panic and fear because of a violent rail strike in Baltimore that preceded, and likely helped spark, the Buffalo strike:

> Were it not for the strike following so immediately in the wake of the Baltimore and Ohio horrors, it would have occasioned but little excitement, and the local public would have remained little more than mere spectators of a struggle between a railroad company and its employees.[37]

Worse than the decision to call in the troops was their conduct once they arrived in the city. The soldiers, the newspaper reported, were ill-trained, undisciplined and poorly commanded.

Indeed, the *Sunday Morning News* laid the blame for the violence on the military:

> The military, in fact, created the mobs which the Buffalo police and specials had to step in and disperse. In every collision of the military with the mobs, the former were beaten . . . even the worst rioters seemed to respect the police,while the soldiers were looked upon as men of blood and war [and] made the mobs more active and violent. Twenty policemen armed with clubs and civil authority were more effective in every conflict than a hundred soldiers armed with loaded muskets and bayonets.[39]

The *News*' coverage of the strike overwhelmingly favored the workers. Even when the paper found proof of violence against the police, the military, or the city itself, it ascribed such violence to "not a few roughs and tramps" who took advantage of a peaceful strike to cause trouble and settle scores. The newspaper concluded:

> The Erie men were temperate and not to be found among the gangs marauding about the city; and yet with all this expression of sentiment favorable to the strike, not one official act was performed to acknowledge the distinction between the rioters and the strikers.[39]

In an editorial that accompanied the news stories about the 1877 strike, Butler strongly supported the workers' right to strike, but urged them to refrain from violence:

> Even the most impracticable idealist—and the ranks of the insurgents are full of such—must acknowledge that there is small chance of improvement in the condition of unemployment growing out of the destruction of the employer. It is hardly probable that a mill owner will be induced to add to the wages of his employers simply from the fact that the latter have burned his mill.[40]

Labor Column Moves to Page One

While Butler chastised workers as a friend might, he had nothing but harsh words for the railroad companies—and for government officials and newspapers that aided in their subjugation of workers. His comments ranged far beyond the particulars of the strike itself; instead, he articulated his core principles on the issues of capital, labor and the role of the state in disputes between the two—these were the principles that Butler would so vehemently reject 15 years later.

In the same editorial, which appeared on July 29, 1877, Butler pointed out that the coverage of the strike in Buffalo's other newspapers had been grossly biased and incomplete, merely trumpeting and applauding the pronouncements of political and industrial leaders out to rout the strikers. The *News* scolded that, "There is another side to this question that has been completely ignored in the press, which is this: Is the Balti-

more and Ohio Railroad corporation entirely blameless? Is it not equally to blame for bringing this terrible condition of affairs?"[41]

In fact, the editorial concluded, the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad bore most of the blame. Butler documented its enormous expansion and profits and showed how it was taking advantage of a stagnant labor market to exploit workers with "starve to death wages."[42] Worse, the B&O was "evading moral responsibility" for its actions.[43]

And, on top of tremendous economic advantages over its rag-tag labor force, the B&O was backed up by the political and military resources of the state: ". . . the way seems hedged up so that the one side cannot even get a hearing so powerful has the other side become through unprincipled legislators, and so oppressive are its inclinations."[44] Under the circumstances, the *Sunday Morning News* concluded, workers were almost being forced to seek justice through violent means.

If anything good might come of the strike, the *News* concluded, it was that, "when a strike or movement to maintain or secure wages occurs in the future, the Railroad companies will feel more disposed to compromise the difficulties than ever before."[45]

In the aftermath of the 1877 strike, Butler expanded the Labor Column and moved it temporarily to the front page. Butler proposed to workingmen that they "might hold the balance of power" nationally and in Buffalo.[46] In an elegant and passionate summation of the workingman's plight, the *News* declared:

> The workingmen of today are men who think. They have cause to think. They are out of work and they wonder why it is. They cannot get bread for themselves and their families and wonder why that is. They helped elect men to office who promised to legislate better times and they wonder why better times do not come. Their little property has been eaten up by living and taxes, they themselves are on the verge of starvation and it is no wonder that they wonder why it is so.[47]

Butler applauded the men for striking, but cautioned that seeking short-term pay increases without a larger agenda would not advance their cause. They should also "strike at the ballot box," and "shake both parties."[48] Only when they ran candidates and held power for themselves would workingmen have the necessary leverage to fight the big corporations.

Unsettled disputes between workers and the steel and rail oligopolies lingered. And when, 15 years later, in 1892, another outbreak of fierce strikes brought strife and violence to Buffalo, the workers found no champion in Edward H. Butler. Unlike the young publisher who had broken bread with his pressmen and helped deliver bundles of the freshly-printed news to distant precincts, the older Butler had very little in common with workingmen. By 1892, he was a man of substantial property. A palatial new building for the *News* (complete with a private Swedish bath for its owner) was in the works.

An admiring correspondent for the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* who visited Butler in 1886 marveled at the publisher's style:

> Just think of an editor with a telephone ready at hand, with electric bells and speaking tubes at his desk, connecting with every department of his flourishing business and then, not as a romance do we write, coming to his office in a coupe and wearing a sealskin coat.[49]

In addition to publishing Buffalo's wealthiest newspaper, Butler had also become a director of the American Savings Bank and a member of the Buffalo Club, Ellicott Park Club and Country Club in the city, as well as a member of the Marchmont Club of New York, the Clover Club of Philadelphia and the Capital City Club in Atlanta.[50]

The fate of his business was now inextricably tied, through politics, commerce and society, to the vested interests he had once decried.[51] And so, when labor conflict descended upon Buffalo in 1892 Butler was in no position economically, politically, or temperamentally to rally to the workers. In the intervening years since the "Great Upheaval" of 1877, however, the power and wealth of organized labor had also grown. Union members could now be found in great numbers in trades throughout the city—including the mechanical departments of the *News*.

The labor unrest that had been smoldering all summer burst into flame on August 14 when striking switchmen—according to the *News*[52]—set more than 50 freight cars ablaze just outside the city limits.[53] While the switchmen appealed to other rail workers to strike in sympathy, the Lehigh and Erie and Buffalo Creek railroads began transporting replacement workers to the city. The *News* devoted little coverage to the strikers' demand for a 10 hour day, a demand the rail company had earlier acceded to and then reneged on; instead, the newspaper denounced the strikers.

An editorial on August 16, 1892 declared, "Every man in this country has a right to work for whom he pleases. He has a right to quit when the work or the pay is unsatisfactory. He has no right to seize his employer's property, nor has a body of men more right than one."[54]

At the same time, under the huge headline "RIOTING," the newspaper expressed sympathy for the rail companies, the replacement workers and displaced passengers. It condemned the strikers as "lawless."[55] The strike, it reported, had "grown from a mere formal demand for increased pay and shorter hours into a reign of terror and perpetration of acts and unbounded lawlessness and incendiarism."[56] An accompanying editorial called the strike a "Bad Business," and demanded that strikers be punished.[57]

> There can be but one judgement on the events of yesterday and Saturday night in the Lehigh Yards at East Buffalo. The burning of railroad property, the derailing of trains, the assaults on workmen are a CRIME.[58]

The editorial called upon union officials to prevent damage at the railyards. If they did not, it warned, "There is sufficient force in Buffalo to deal with it effectively."[59]

By far the most dramatic illustration of Butler's turnaround came on August 16 when the *News* called for the state militia to be sent to Buffalo. The militia was soon dispatched, and as troop trains speeded towards Buffalo,[60] Butler published an editorial entitled "For Workingmen to Think Of."[61] Unlike his fiery defense of downtrodden workers in 1877, this message to laboring men was stern and unsympathetic. "Do the workmen of this country realize that there is such a thing as killing the goose that lays the golden egg?" he asked. Speaking from experience, he explained that, "It is much easier to pull down than build up business prosperity."[62]

Rather than blame the railroads for their economic plight and poor working conditions at the yards, the editorial explained lamely that the men should resign themselves to "business cycles" of boom and bust that governed economic events. Another editorial condemned sympathy strikes, arguing that workers not involved in the strike should show devotion to their own employers, not their fellow workers.[63]

By Thursday, August 17, the strike had spread to other rail yards. While a headline declared that "ANARCHY!" reigned in Tennessee,[64] the entire New York National Guard—13,000 strong—arrived in Buffalo to

break the strike.[65] As the strike wore on, the *News'* headlines grew bigger and more shrill. *News* reporters encamped with soldiers and traveled to points of conflict on a chartered rail car provided to the press by the railroad.[66]

Butler Supports Use of Force

Soon it was revealed that James Doyle, the National Guard general in charge of the troops, was also a high official of the Lehigh Valley-Erie Railroad.[67] Butler, who 15 years earlier had decried the fact that the power of the state unfairly backed the railroads, weakly explained that the general's status as an officer of the railroad was not a conflict of interest.

In response to scathing condemnations of Doyle and the railroad by the *New York Sun*, the *New York Herald*, and the *New York Telegram*, Butler editorialized that such criticism was "ill-considered. The *Telegram* seems to forget that so far as the public are concerned there is but one side in this battle. The soldiers are fighting disturbers of peace and property, that is all. The 'contestant' whose orders General Doyle is obeying is the state of New York,"[68] and not the railroad. The editorial noted that, "the newspapers are cooperating with the National Guard in repressing disorder."[69]

The strike sputtered on, but the appearance of the soldiers got trains moving again, ensured protection for replacement workers and effectively disarmed the union, which then unsuccessfully tried to make a deal with the railroads. On August 25, Grandmaster Frank Sweeney declared the strike over.[70] In an editorial, the *News* crowed that, "all in all it was a good day for news, and a good day for readers of the *News*."[71]

In fact, the strike was doomed when other unions refused Sweeney's pleas to walk out.[72] Eugene Debs drew this lesson from the Buffalo strike: "Bayonets and bullets, scabs and capitalists won a victory, rode roughshod over a principle [labor unity] which must eventually triumph or labor's emancipation will never come." Ironically, Debs' words echoed Butler's judgment on the 1877 strike.

Butler had written in 1877 that the lesson of the Great Strike was that workingmen oppressed by huge corporations and legislative toadies had a right to strike and should join together to seize political power. He drew for his readers a far different lesson from the 1892 strike:

> Some hasty observers of the trouble at East Buffalo have jumped at the conclusion, because it is a big thing, that it is the beginning of a life and death struggle between capital

> and labor. It is not a struggle between capital and labor at all, but between anarchy and law.[73]

"Here is the lesson of the strike," the *News* concluded. "The militia is the one and sole dependence of our citizens for protection from riot and destruction to property."[74]

The strikes of 1877 and 1892 shared many similarities—especially as they played out in Buffalo. Buffalo was not the epicenter of either strike; compared to many other cities it escaped serious damage or violence. A logical question one might pose regarding Butler's reaction to the two strikes is: Did he side against workers in 1892 because that strike's impact on Buffalo was greater, its violence more widespread, the strikers more "lawless"; or because he had become a member of the elite with corporate, personal and ideological interests at stake?

By most criteria, the 1877 strike had a greater impact on Buffalo than the 1892 strike and therefore posed a greater threat to order. The 1877 conflict, "The Great Upheaval," was more strident in its challenge to the power of capital by virtue of coming first and was viewed by many as "violent rebellion."[75] In fact, the armories that were at the National Guard's disposal in 1892 had been built precisely because of the strike of 1877.[76]

Challenge to the Moneyed Class

According to labor historian Joseph Rayback, "The railway strike thoroughly shocked a large portion of the public. Not since slaveholders had ceased to be haunted by dreams of a slave uprising had propertied elements been so terrified."[77]

The impact of the strike of 1877 was also more far-reaching in Buffalo and other cities because what began as a railroad strike quickly became a general strike. In Buffalo, workers walked off the job at planing mills, tanneries, bolt and nut factories, hogyards and the canal works.[78] Although the workers did not gain all they wanted, they did show they had the power to paralyze the city's industries.

The strike of 1892 had a narrower focus than the strike of 1877. Rail workers failed to convince their brethren in other industries to walk off jobs; each union had its own agenda and they did not work together in common cause. A leader of the Switchmen's Union complained bitterly in the wake of the strike that "the brakemen and firemen played us false."[79]

The contradictions that ultimately broke Butler's bond with working people arose from his growing wealth and influence. As his success as a businessman and publisher transformed him into the head of a vast enterprise, the city's and the nation's laborers were gaining voice and power.

Butler Became What He Despised

The workingmen whom Butler had championed in 1877 were unorganized and, to Butler's mind, directionless. He had hoped to channel the formidable power and talent among labor's ranks towards goals he deemed worthy by giving labor a forum in his newspaper and educating the workingmen on how to use it. But ultimately, the strike of 1877 had given workingmen a sense of their power to set their own agenda; in Rayback's words, the strike gave workers "a class consciousness on a national scale."[80]

By 1892, the labor movement, while still at a huge disadvantage, had progressed. The American Federation of Labor was formed in 1886 and the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers, which represented the ill-fated Homestead workers, had formed soon after that.[81] These well-organized unions had strong leaders and big war chests.

The paradox that shaped Butler's destiny—fighting the powerful while aspiring to be one of them—illustrates the inherent contradictions that shaped modern journalism as it passed from partisan mouthpiece to corporate institution. The very financial and political success of Butler's populist philosophy inexorably pulled Butler into the city's elite.

As his wealth increased, his passion for attacking a system in which he was rapidly ascending diminished. By the 1890s, Butler had forsaken reform and political independence and embraced wealth and influence. He became what he had originally despised—a conservative patrician whose interests were unambiguously allied with those of Buffalo's elite. That shift was most dramatically manifest in his relationship with the workingmen he had once championed.

Endnotes

[1]Between 1870 and 1880, the number of newspapers in the United States nearly doubled, while revenue increased nearly four-fold. In 1879, newspapers also reached their zenith in terms of earnings relative to the earnings of all American industries. Jeffrey Rutenbeck, "Newspaper trends in the 1870s:

Proliferation, popularization, and political independence," *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly, Summer*, 1995, p. 362-69.

[2] Newspapers, which were started for as little as $500 in capital before the Civil War, might require close to $1 million in start-up capital by the 1880s. Gerald Baldasty, *The Commercialization of the News in the Nineteenth Century* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1992) p. 5

[3]Butler was not alone in undergoing this transformation. The newspapers of the Scripps brothers, who were also key innovators of the "new journalism" - and whose Buffalo *Telegraph* was vanquished by Butler in 1885 - also de- emphasized crusading as their circulations grew. Penny papers like the *Buffalo News* and Scripps' *Detroit Evening News* built their circulations by appealing to the working classes. But as profits grew and competition declined, the content of these papers catered less to the working class and adopted a more neutral stance towards politics and social issues - a reflection of the fact that their readerships had become more diverse. Richard Kaplan, "The Economics of Popular Journalism in the Gilded Age: The Detroit Evening News in 1873 and 1888," *Journalism History*, Summer 1995, pp. 65-74.

[4]By the end of the nineteenth century, partisan affiliation would be out of fashion at many American newspapers, but in 1873, when Butler founded the *News*, this trend away from partisan journalism was just beginning; thus, in Buffalo and elsewhere, partisan papers were in the majority. For figures on partisan and independent papers in New York at century's end, see Baldasty and Jeffrey B. Rutenbeck, "Money, Politics and Newspapers: The Business Environment of Press Partisanship in the Late 19th Century," *Journalism History*, Summer/Autumn, 1988, pp. 60-69.

[5]Circulation figures are from a survey done by George P. Rowell and Company which was commissioned by and published in the Buffalo *Sunday Morning News*, 13 June 1875.

[6]In addition to the Rowell & Co. survey, the *News* submitted an affidavit signed by Butler attesting the paper had an average circulation of 10,000 by August, 1874, a mere eight months after its start-up. Buffalo *Sunday Morning News*, 2 August 1874, p. 2.

[7]Buffalo *Sunday Morning News*, 2 October 1875, p. 1.

[8]Ibid.

[9]Buffalo *Sunday Morning News*, 3 October 1874, p. 1.

[10]Buffalo *Sunday Morning News*, 10 January 1875, p.1. October 1874, p.1.

[11]Ibid.

[12]Buffalo *Sunday Morning News*, 2

[13]"Sale of Tainted Meat," Buffalo *Sunday Morning News*, 25 January 1874, p. 1.

[14]After 1880, advertisements for "Burdick's Blood Bitters" became endemic in the News, but in 1876 "Dr." Andrews, who sold a potent — and probably alcohol-based — remedy for dyspepsia, was exposed and hounded from the city. "`Dr.' Andrews flees," Buffalo *Sunday Morning News*, 8 September 1876, p. 1.

[15]"Peddlers of Bad Milk," Buffalo *Sunday Morning News*, 8 September 1876, p.1.; "The Poor Sewing Girls," 12 September 1876, p.1.

[16]"Anatomy of a Crusade: The Buffalo *News*' Pioneering Fight for the Polish Immigrants, 1881." Unpublished manuscript.

[17]Buffalo *Sunday Morning News*, 1 October 1874, p. 1.

[18]Buffalo *Sunday Morning News*, 10 May 1874, p.2.

[19]Financial records from the News before 1895 are sketchy and incomplete; the salary figure comes from a 1895 trial balance. According to a 1909 trial balance, Butler's recorded salary was $130,000 annually.

[20]Buffalo *Sunday Morning News*, 7 December 1873, p.1.

[21]Butler served the party twice as a member of the Electoral College; in 1900 he was named the chairman of the board of electors. Information about Butler's political activities can be found in numerous papers and letters, as well as his obituary, "Edward Butler dies following operation," Buffalo *News*, 10 March 1914.

[22]Butler speech to New York Publisher's Association, 13 July 1892, Butler papers at SUCB.

[23]Ibid.

[24]"Our Mammoth Sheet" (editorial), Buffalo *Sunday Morning News*, 10 March 1874, p.2.

[25]Butler Speech to New York Publishers Association, 13 July 1892.

[26]"A Few Cold Facts About Buffalo," *Evening News*, 19 August 1892, p. 2 (and many subsequent editions).

[27]Samuel Yellen, *American Labor Struggles* (New York: S.A. Russel) p. 81.

[28]Ibid.

[29]"An Argument That Comes Home," *Evening News*, 13 July 1892, p. 2.

[30]Ibid.

[31]Ibid.

[32]Ibid.

[33]Jeremy Brecker, *Strike!* (Boston: South End Press, 1972) p. 1.

[34]"The Great Strike," *Sunday Morning News*, 29 July 1877, p. 1.

[35]"Murderous Purposes," *Sunday Morning News*, 29 July 1877, p. 1.

[36]"A Review of the Strike," *Sunday Morning News*, 29 July 1877, p. 1. (editorial)

[37]Ibid.

[38]"Buffalo Policemen," *Sunday Morning News*, 29 July 1877, p. 1.

[39]Ibid.

[40]"A Review of the Strike," *Sunday Morning News*, 29 July 1877, p 1.

[41]Ibid.

[42]Ibid.

[43]Ibid.

[44]Ibid.

[45]Ibid.

[46]"Workingmen: The Class that Might Hold the Balance of Power," *Sunday Morning News*, 2 September 1877, p. 1.

[47]Ibid.

[48]Ibid.

[49]"E.H. Butler of the Buffalo *News*," Cleveland Plain Dealer, 6 March 1886. p.3.

[50]"E.H. Butler Dies After Operation . . ." Buffalo *Courier*, 10 March 1914, p. 1.

[51]In addition to political or editorial posts, Butler was a member of the board of the Grosvenor Library, originator and president of group charged with erecting a monument to slain president William McKinley, a director of the American Savings Bank, and a member of the board of trustees of the State Normal School at Buffalo. *Municipality of Buffalo*, p. 332.

[52]Unlike in the 1877 strike, when Butler scolded other newspapers for not investigating who actually instigated violence and blaming every incident on strikers, the *News* in 1892 was content to assume that any incidents must be the work of strikers.

[53]"More Fires!" *Evening News*, 15 August 1892, p. 1.

[54]"For Workingmen to Think Of," Buffalo *Evening News*, 16 August 1892, p.2.

[55]"RIOTING! The Switchman's Strike Becomes Serious," *Evening News*, 15 August 1892, p. 1.

[56]Ibid.

[57]"Bad Business," *Evening News*, 15 August 1892, p. 2.

[58]Ibid.

[59]Ibid.

[60]"Bad Business," 15 August 1892, p. 2.

[61]"For Workingmen to Think Of," *Evening News*, 16 August 1892, p. 2.

[62]Ibid.

[63]Ibid.

[64]"ANARCHY! Troops Surrender to the Mob at Oliver Springs, Tenn.," *Evening News*, 17 August 1892, p. 1.

[65]"STRIKE SPREADING: All Troops in the State Sent," *Evening News*, 18 August 1892, p. 1.

[66]"UNDER ARMS!" *Evening News*, 16 August 1892, p. 1.

[67]When Militia General Doyle's blatant conflict of interest was pointed out by strikers and their supporters, the News supported his right to fill both roles. "PERSECUTED: General Doyle Says They're After Him and He Doesn't Like It," *Evening News*, 19 August p. 1.

[68]"Attacking General Doyle," (editorial) *Evening News*, 19 August p. 2.

[69]Ibid.

[70]"The Strike is Ended," Buffalo *News*, 25 August p. 1.

[71]"The First, As Usual," Buffalo *News*, 25 August p.2.

[72]This was a position heartily endorsed by the *News*, which lectured potential sympathy strikers in an editorial that other rail workers should rally to the aid of their "natural partners," — their employers at the railroad. "Friends and Enemies," Buffalo *News*, 23 August, p. 2.

[73]"One Lesson of the Strike," (editorial) *Evening News*, 26 August 1892, p. 1.

[74]Ibid.

[75]Brecker, Strike, p.1.

[76]Eric Foner, *History of American Labor*, v.7, N.Y.: International Publishers, 1955) p. 253.

[77]Joseph Rayback, *A History of American Labor*, (New York: The Free Press, 1966) p. 136.

[78]Brecker, *Strike!* p. 6

[79]The union council member was identified only by his last name, Barrett, in the story containing his remarks. "The Strike is Ended," Buffalo *News*, p.1.

[80]Rayback, p.136.

[81]Ibid, p. 159.

Power of the Press: How Newspapers in Four Communities Erased Thousands of Chinese from Oregon History

By Herman B. Chiu

This article examines four Oregon newspapers' treatment of Chinese workers during the 1870s and 1880s. The papers were in Jacksonville, John Day, Baker City and Astoria which, according to census reports, had the state's largest Chinese populations. Results show the Chinese, who arrived as gold miners and railroad workers and comprised as much as half the population of some towns, were virtually excluded from the press. When they did make it into the papers they were rarely named, portrayed as sub-human, and vilified. Pronouns such as "yellow vermin" and "filthy rats" were not uncommon.

The papers that were examined shared one attribute—they shunned the Chinese. Racism, inability to communicate, strange appearance, clannishness, "strategic silence," professional standards that were not well-developed, and lack of newsroom diversification were some of the factors that could have caused the appalling coverage—or lack of coverage—of this immigrant group.

"Yellow vermin," filthy rats," "moon-eyed nuisances" — these were just a few of the names newspapers in Oregon hurled at the Chinese during the 19th century.

But that was only when the papers bothered to acknowledge their existence at all. Most of the time, the Chinese were ignored even though

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they comprised nearly half of the population of some Oregon cities during the 1870s and 1880s.

The Chinese came to the state seeking the fortunes that had attracted countless others before them. These new pioneers faced many of the same hardships as earlier settlers. There were crime and illness; there were cold winters and occasional Indian attacks. In better days there were banquets, social club meetings, days spent kite flying, New Year's activities. But unlike those who crossed the continent along the Oregon Trail, the trials and tribulations of the Chinese were almost never recorded so that today, few records remain of who these immigrants were and what their lives were like.

Chinese Exclusion from Written Records

The exclusion of the Chinese from written records reflected their exclusion from society, and was especially evident in newspapers. In those days one of the functions of these four-page publications, mostly weeklies, was to serve as a social adhesive to keep readers informed about people and events in their communities. Even a cursory review of early Oregon papers would reveal hundreds of items about things such as the size of a local farmer's strawberries or the latest citizen to visit the East Coast.

But the Chinese were virtually absent from the press. This was the case in Astoria, a city in which they made up 47.2 percent of the population; in Grant County, where they made up 41.6 percent of the population; in Baker City, where they were 24.2 percent; and in Jacksonville, where they were 18.5 percent. Perhaps most importantly, an entire group was shut out of what contemporary journalists call the "marketplace of ideas."

This article examines the roots of Chinese immigrants in four 19th century communities and how they were covered by newspapers of the time. Sample periods for each community were purposive and were during years when census reports showed the largest Chinese populations. Approximately 100 issues of each paper were examined. Chinese surnames were used because they are easily distinguishable and seldom "Americanized."[1]

The Chinese Lured by Gold

Gold, historians agree, was what brought the first Chinese to Oregon, just as it had lured them to the now-fabled California "gum san,"

or gold mountain in 1848. According to Robert Edward Wynne's history of Chinese in the Pacific Northwest, the first Chinese arrived from California shortly after gold was discovered in Southern Oregon's Rogue and Umpqua valleys in 1852.[2] Along with the Chinese miners came the discrimination that was to plague them for generations.

"It is not surprising," writes Wynne, "that the latter should have experienced the hostility of white miners in Oregon Territory. There were many settlers from the southern states who brought with them feelings of dislike for a colored man be he Negro or Chinese."[3] Then, relates Wynne, other ways were found to discourage the Chinese. In 1857, a $2 per month mining tax was levied on them. The tax was doubled in 1858, along with the imposition of a $4 per month tax on Chinese merchants. Jackson and Josephine counties also required Chinese trading among themselves to purchase a $50 per year license.

However, these measures did not dampen the lure of the gold mountain. According to Wynne, by 1858 there were more than 1,000 Chinese in Josephine County.[4] Laws restricting the Chinese differed with the locality, according to Wynne. For example, they were permitted to purchase mining claims at Wolf Creek. Likewise, Jackass Creek was what author V. Blue in 1922 dubbed a "cosmopolitan area with many French and Chinese miners."[5] But at Humbug Creek, Chinese were prohibited from buying–or even working–mining claims. Curiously, writes Wynne, after Oregon became a state in 1859 its legislature levied a $5 poll tax on the Chinese even though they were prohibited from voting.

Chinese miners also suffered at the hands – and boots – of their white counterparts. According to Wynne, "An Army captain who traveled through Oregon's mining regions in 1862 observed that the valleys showed Chinese miners ' . . . moving from one mining locality to the next, fleeing from the kicks of one to the cuffs of another, with no abiding place.'"[6]

The curtain of discrimination lifted partially in 1864 when the legislature repealed the anti-Chinese laws. But it immediately imposed a $4 per quarter mining tax on the Chinese and banned them from giving evidence or taking legal action against Caucasians. Wynne writes that the pressure on the Chinese, at least in Southern Oregon, eased somewhat after the late 1850s because much richer gold strikes were made on the upper stretches of the Columbia River in Washington Territory and on the Fraser River in Canada.

In 1861 and 1862 strikes were also made in Baker and Grant counties in Northeast Oregon. Chinese miners, like whites, became

afflicted with the fever for a bigger pot of gold and headed north along with droves of other fortune seekers. Many must have decided to stay in Northeast Oregon.

The *Tenth Census of the United States* shows that in 1870 a total of 940 Chinese lived in Grant County, mostly in the John Day - Canyon City area, even though some probably prospected in outlying camps such as Granite. In Baker County the population centered around Baker City. A story from the *Bedrock Democrat,* the town's weekly paper at the time, indicates a substantial number of Chinese also mined in Sumpter, now mostly abandoned.

John Day and Baker City also hosted "Chinatowns." In John Day this was a block-long section that included a store and worshiping temple. Today, these are memorialized as the Kam Wah Chung State Historical Park.

Few Traces Remain of the Chinese Population

Not much other evidence remains of the Chinese who played so large a part in the economy of early Eastern Oregon. Most of them left with the depletion of the mines and the torrent of anti-Chinese feeling that inundated the West in the mid-1880s. Some may have moved to other states – rich strikes also had been made in Idaho and Washington. Others may have made their way to Portland, which for two decades had served as a transit point for Chinese entering or leaving Oregon.

In just one month in 1868, for example, six ships arrived with 1,995 Chinese immigrants.[7] There was protection in numbers, and later, with the depletion of the mines, there were also alternative opportunities such as railroad building. The Portland spur of the Central Pacific Railroad was completed almost exclusively with Chinese labor, which caused the Chinese population of The Dalles, Oregon, to soar to almost 1,200 briefly in the early 1880s. Chinese also helped lay tracks for the Oregon - California line. Although the Portland area's Chinese population grew, it never reached the proportions seen in Clatsop County (47.2 percent in 1880); Grant County (41.6 percent in 1870); or Baker County (24.2 percent in 1870).

Other Chinese, having made a small fortune–at least by 1870s standards–may have returned home. Census statistics show that between 1882 and 1890 a total of 117,286 Chinese left the United States. In those years 80,106 Chinese arrived, for a net decrease of 37,180.[8]

Those who congregated in Portland may have found their way into the salmon-canning industry, which reached its economic high-tide the same time that mining began to decline. Most of the canneries used contract laborers directly from San Francisco or Hong Kong. Port listings in *The Daily Astorian* newspaper in 1876 and 1877 reveal arrivals from Hong Kong or Shanghai, China, almost weekly, with some ships carrying hundreds of Chinese. However, some contractors also recruited in Portland.

In Oregon the largest salmon-processing city was Astoria, which boasted of 14 canneries by 1880.[9] Smaller concentrations of plants were located at Westport, Portland, Rooster Rock, The Dalles and Florence. Most of the 1,639 Chinese in Astoria's canneries lived in bunkhouses behind waterfront processing plants. The town itself also supported numerous Chinese entrepreneurs. These Chinese merchants included restaurateurs, tailors, pawnbrokers, barbers, clothiers, gardeners and laundrymen, according to Chris Friday's account of Asians in Astoria's canneries.[10] Later, a second group of plants, also with Chinese workers, opened a mile inland.

Hours at the canneries were long, rewards meager. Friday writes that pay for the Chinese–even those who had worked their way up to the most important positions of butchering and can testing–was lower than the $36 a month railroad workers earned. Meals were served in a common mess hall, but contractors who did the hiring were responsible for supplying provisions and hiring cooks. Protein frequently consisted only of scraps from the production lines. To supplement their diets, it wasn't uncommon for workers to cultivate vegetable gardens and catch shellfish in their spare time. Often the gardens were operated by the contractor for a profit.

A Wall of Racial Bias

Life in Astoria was undoubtedly better than at rural plants, where conditions were more primitive. In Astoria, as in the rest of Oregon and indeed, the nation, nearly 100 percent of the Chinese were male.[11] Many of those who arrived during the initial wave had planned to make a quick fortune and return home to marry. Others, who already had families, came to the United States in an attempt to better support them. All Chinese were prohibited from entering the United States by the 1882 Exclusion Act, so for those not already attached, life could be quite lonely.

The result was a Chinese population that, unable to regenerate, plummeted until, by 1930, only 164 remained in Clatsop County, and

only 11 in Grant County. In Multnomah County, only 1,471 remained out of a total population of 338,241.

The biggest restrictions on the Chinese, however, were not cultural. For wherever they worked, whether in rural plants or in city canneries, they faced a wall of racial bias. "The prejudice of European American residents, added to the canners' placement of bunkhouses," writes Friday, "severely restricted Chinese settlement patterns." Indeed, the editor of the *Weekly Astorian* newspaper on May 23, 1879, wrote that " . . . we cannot possibly colonize the Chinese in any one place in the city, but it should be done if possible . . . . "[12]

Friday and newspapers of the period agree that anti-Chinese fervor in Astoria and other Oregon communities was more muted than in the Northwest in general. There was an Anti - Chinese Society in Astoria to which many leading citizens belonged. But there was a marked absence of violence. This may have been because even the most ardent chinophobes realized that the town's canneries could not operate without the Chinese. Thus, the Chinese in Astoria, as in other parts of the state, were viewed as not much more than a necessary evil.

Hostility to the North and South

Sentiments were not so muffled among Oregon's neighbors, however. According to historian Elmer Clarence Sandmeyer, in California the Chinese were prohibited from working, banned from living in incorporated cities and denied the rights to own land or vote along with "idiots, insane persons and persons convicted of infamous crimes or of the embezzlement of public money."[13] Then, about the same time as the September 1885 attack in Rock Springs, Wyoming, where "more than a score" of Chinese were killed, anti-Chinese riots took place in more than a dozen California towns.[14]

About 150 miles north of Astoria, opponents of the Chinese staged riots in Tacoma, Squak Valley (now Issaquah), Black Diamond, Seattle and a handful of other locales. The most extreme measures were seen during 1885 and 1886 in Tacoma and Seattle, where the Chinese were evicted from their homes and forced onto trains or ships out of the city. In both cities, local newspapers printed a series of vitriolic anti - Chinese editorials.[15]

It is against this backdrop that the stage is set for an examination of the coverage four early Oregon newspapers gave to their local Chinese populations. Findings show that the community papers in Grant County,

Baker City, Astoria and Jacksonville reflected the biases of white populations. On a few occasions, they even choreographed anti - Chinese sentiment and activities.

Immigrants Were Anonymous

Newspaper coverage of the Chinese in frontier Oregon was skimpy, at best. When it did occur these immigrants were anonymous, faceless, and portrayed as sub-human, at least as far as the press was concerned. With a few exceptions newspapers of the period did not refer to them by name. They were simply "Chinamen," "John Chinaman" or "celestials."[16]

In some cases more derogatory terms such as "pigtails" or "celestial brutes" were employed. The *Morning Oregonian* in 1865 had referred to Oregon's newly arrived Chinese as "filthy and abominable," and a year later called them "long-tailed, moon-eyed nuisances" and "filthy rats."[17]

According to Wynne, the paper with Harvey Scott at its helm was ardently Chinophobic until 1867. Wynne writes that when Californians began a "fierce anti - Chinese campaign the *Morning Oregonian* realized that the employers of Chinese belonged to both political parties; the Democrats insisted that only Republicans did such wicked things. Next, the editor discovered that white labor was not available for domestic service or for railroad construction, the latter problem occupying the minds of Oregonians very much just then.

"Slowly," Wynne writes, "the great newspaper began to look at the Chinese less contemptuously and defended the proposed use of Chinese labor by the Oswego Iron Company a few miles up the Willamette River. The editor now explained that the company had to compete with Eastern firms that used pauper labor which, presumably, was only a step removed from coolie labor."[18]

Despite its venomous language, the *Morning Oregonian* probably played a smaller role in the history of the Chinese in Oregon than other papers because Portland's Chinese population was more transitory, and comprised a much smaller percentage than in towns such as Astoria. But the degree of invective in the Portland paper was a good example of the extent of anti - Chinese fervor during the period.

Headlines in the 1870s and 1880s were usually nothing more than upper-case letters on the first line of a story, and frequently were used to editorialize. In one blatant example the words "Good Chinamen" were used for two April 26, 1882 Baker City stories about incidents in which two Chinese were killed and one injured.

Similarly, opinion and fact were often blended in copy. When Chinese miners were involved in an accident, for example, it was not uncommon to find comments such as "It's a pity they were only injured."

Chinese Conspicious by Their Absence

Previous literature has shown that historians disagree on the reasons the Chinese were so poorly treated, and that none apparently explored whether this vilification was intentional. Reasons and intent, however, seem less important than the fact that omission of the Chinese erased an important part of Oregon's history. It was not until well after World War II that a new group of Chinese students was able to parlay educational advances into improved coverage. Even then, coverage and amount of bias were uneven. As late as 1963, for example, *The Oregonian* used the word "celestial" in a banner headline.

But whatever else can be said, during the 19th century the papers in Canyon City, Baker City, Astoria and Jacksonville shared one attribute—they shunned the Chinese. Degree of anti - Chinese sentiment, rather than difference, was what separated their coverage when indeed it did occur.

The *Oregon Sentinel* Covers "Celestials"

The *Oregon Sentinel* in Jacksonville, a weekly, provided only sparse coverage of the Chinese who immigrated to Southern Oregon in the 1860s even though they comprised as much as 18 percent of the population of Josephine and Jackson counties.[19] Only 14 stories concerning the Chinese population appeared in the paper during 1866-70. But the *Sentinel* would finish No. 1 if vehemence of anti-Chinese rhetoric rather than volume of coverage were measured.

Some items demonstrated the paper's strong anti - Chinese stance by mocking their subjects. For example, a Feb. 24, 1866 story reported that a "near relation of the Sun and Moon," after experiencing language difficulties at the telegraph office, left with a poor impression of the "Mellican." Stories employed such a tone even when the subject was serious. On April 7 of that year, the lead-in "Damaged Celestial" was used to introduce a story describing a Chinese who drank camphor after being jailed for tax evasion. Yet a third example occurred February 29, 1868. That report told of how a Chinese called at a local household asking if a "cookee" were needed. The answer was "No," but the inquirer apparently stole $80 before departing.

The most blatant example of the paper's anti - Chinese sentiments occurred on May 23, 1868 in a local editorial. The paper agreed with the Democrats' opposition to the Chinese, and declared that, "Nothing could so much damage and degrade the labor interests of Oregon as the introduction of those yellow vermin."

Other stories on February 8, 1868 and February 22, 1868 reported on Chinese involved in a robbery and an assault. In an item involving the latter, a Chinese convicted of burglary was reported to have carefully sculpted a handle into a heavy piece of wood, which he used to club a cellmate on the head. In addition, an item on March 3, 1866, in which the editor admitted forgetting to report three Chinese had drowned in Cow Creek "three weeks ago" suggested that the Chinese weren't considered part of the community.

Three stories of the 14 in the sample were relatively "neutral." In other words, Chinese were portrayed doing things other people would normally do. The first example occurred on Jan. 27, 1866, when readers were informed that area Chinese had converged on the town for a ceremony that was "mysterious and unintelligible enough to the unini- tiated to belong to the mysteries of the ancient Greek." However, in an apparent contradiction, the story concluded by reporting that the ceremony "very much resembled an auction sale." One could assume from the date that this event marked the Chinese New Year. But the story didn't say.

Then, on February 8 of that year, a matter-of-factly written item indicated a local Chinese had a broken leg set by a Dr. Greenman. It's unknown whether it would have been unusual for a Chinese resident to visit a Caucasian doctor in Jacksonville in 1866. However, the story seems to indicate that at the time the Chinese were still a curiosity. The paper did not, for example, report the setting of Caucasian patients' broken legs. Finally, on Feb. 27, 1870, the paper noted that area Chinese often flew kites in their leisure time, and were highly skilled at the practice.

Grant County Papers Rarely Mention the Chinese

Grant County hosted three weekly papers–the *Grant County Express, Grant County Times* and *Grant County News.* The first two were short-lived. The *Express* published for two weeks, March 18 and 25, 1876, and the *Times* only on March 26, 1877, after which the *News* took over.

The first two papers' brief lives were not surprising. Frontier editors, like prospectors, went wherever the "gold" was. And if the gold became more plentiful elsewhere, the editors left along with their presses.

What was surprising was that between 1876 and 1884, the years during which the county's papers were studied, there were only five

stories about the Chinese in Eastern Oregon. The 1870 census showed 940 of Grant County's population of 2,251, or 41.6 percent, were Chinese. In 1880, the numbers were 905 out of 3,384, or 26.6 percent. It would have been expected that a far larger number of the names in the three papers would have been Chinese. Instead, the Chinese were rarely mentioned.

Perhaps the invisibility of Grant County's Chinese could account for the unusually low number. Many mined in outlying towns such as Granite or prospected in rural areas. In addition, the county's papers did not publish continuously, resulting in fewer stories. But even in view of this, five in eight years would be an amazingly low number.

When the Chinese did make it into Grant County's papers they were cast in a negative light and remained unnamed. For example, the *Grant County Express* on March 18, 1876, published a story with the lead-in, "Gold Watch Found." It became clear that Mr. E. E. Turk, a local resident, lost a "valuable gold watch three years ago." The watch was found, according to the story, in the possession of a "Chinaman" who was "slow to part with it." But in the end, it was recovered through some unspecified means. In another flagrant case of anti-Chinese editorializing, the lead-in "Well-Planted" was chosen for a May 26, 1877 *Grant County Times* story about a Chinese miner buried alive in a cave-in at Sumpter.

The tone of the stories sometimes varied with the paper. The March 25, 1876 *Grant County Express,* for example, reported two Chinese renting a mine from a white, and on March 6, 1884, the *Grant County Times* matter-of-factly reported the funeral of a Chinese resident of John Day. The one-paragraph obituary provided few details and did not identify the deceased.

In perhaps the most absurd example, a story in the April 24, 1884 *Grant County Times* reported that a Chinese laundry had burned to the ground in Canyon City. The story focused on the fire department's quick work but said nothing else about the laundry. Who was the owner? Was he injured? What was the amount of property loss? The story gave no clues to the answers to these questions. Curiously, the fire department was enthusiastically congratulated for its efficiency.

Bedrock Democrat Gives More Coverage to the Chinese

Baker City's four-page weekly, the *Bedrock Democrat,* provided generally negative coverage of the Chinese just as its Grant County counterparts did. However, it also contained the largest number of

"positive" or "neutral" stories of the four papers in the study. But the number probably remains insignificant if the length of the sample period and Baker City's Chinese population (680 out of 2,804, or 24.2 percent in 1870 and 787 out of 3,817, or 20.5 percent in 1880) are taken into account.

In seven four-month periods from 1873-1882, the *Democrat* contained 23 stories about local Chinese, six of which were "neutral" or even slightly "positive." On January 28, 1874, for example, a story matter-of-factly reported that a Chinese store at Mormon Basin had been robbed. However, it also indicated that opium was taken. This was followed on April 8, 1874 by another matter-of-factly written story that reported the discovery of gold in Connor Creek by Chinese prospectors, and by two other mining stories in 1878.

The first story, on February 13, 1878, reported that the Griffin's Gulch mine eight miles west of Baker City was now owned by Chinese, and yielded $5 per day. Griffin's Gulch was where gold was discovered in Baker County in 1861. The second story, two weeks later on February 27, 1878, was a summary of county mining activity that mentioned Chinese ownership.

Four years later, on February 22, 1882, an item in the "Bedrock Nuggets," the paper's local - briefs column, indicated that Chinese in the town had begun to celebrate Chinese New Year. A second story reported that the Chinese ushered in the new year with "the firing of fire crackers, offerings to the spirits, lancantations, prayers etc. A Chinaman informed us that their festivities continued as long as their money lasted." Though the stories did not openly attack the Chinese, reference to the "spirits" and celebrating until funds were exhausted made them appear mysterious and foolish.

The only story in which the name of a Chinese was used was on April 24, 1874, when the *Bedrock Democrat* reported that Gee Sing, a local merchant, had died and left what was in those days a princely sum of $2,000 to his wife. The *Bedrock Democrat* did, however, print its share of stories which, whether by design or not, reinforced a negative image of the Chinese. One such example, on January 14, 1880, told of two Chinese who snuck into a hotel room without paying. In a similar vein, the paper reported on March 10, 1880 that the marshal was "making it red hot" for Chinese evading the city's laundry tax by throwing them in jail.

Another story in the March 31, 1880 paper told of a La Grande resident's Chinese servant. But a bold headline above the story read, "Mac and His Pet Chinaman," which made the Chinese sound like a dog or

other household animal. That was followed on April 28, 1880 by a report of a new gambling game in Baker City's Chinatown that attracted the "heathens."

Like the papers in Jacksonville and Grant County, the *Bedrock Democrat* also launched direct assaults on the Chinese. On March 17, 1880, it included in its news section an editorial stating that "It is a pity that low fares to the East could not have been kept a little longer so that the Mongolians could have a chance to exit." Stronger language was used on April 5, 1876 to report a shooting incident at Auburn between two Chinese, neither of whom was injured. The story concluded: "Unfortunately, they both escaped with their lives."

The Daily Astorian Highlights Chinese Criminals

Demographics would seem to indicate that Astoria's daily paper, one of the state's first, should have taken the lead in covering the town's Chinese. After all, in 1880 a total of 2,317–or 47.2 percent–of Clatsop County's residents were Chinese. And unlike Grant, Baker and Jackson counties, where the Chinese population was scattered, Clatsop County's Chinese were concentrated in Astoria.

So a substantial number of names in the paper should have been Chinese. But the 108 issues sampled between 1876 and 1877 contained only 22 stories about local Chinese. In addition, not once was a Chinese resident named except on August 14, 1877, in the Circuit Court docket published in the paper and on August 29, 1877, when judgments in two lawsuits and verdicts in three criminal cases were listed.

In *Hop Chung* v. *Chung Hing*, the lawsuit was dismissed, with the defendant paying court costs. *Wong Sam* v. *Chin Ah Ung*, on the other hand, resulted in a judgment for the defendants with costs being paid by the plaintiff. In the criminal case *State* v. *Chung Sing* and nine others charged with assault with a deadly weapon, Sing You was found guilty and fined $50 and costs. There was no mention of the fate of the other defendants, however. *State* v. *Chung Ah Yem* was dismissed on motion of the prosecutor, and *State* v. *Chin Wot* resulted in a hung jury. One other listing, *Louis Park* v. *Chung Hong*, deserves mention because the parties were ordered to give testimony to O. F. Bell who, according to the June 9, 1876 paper, had been elected vice president of the city's Anti - Chinese Society.[20]

For the most part, *The Daily Astorian*, a six-day-a-week paper that published Tuesday through Sunday, treated the town's Chinese as if they didn't exist. Though they were an integral part of the town's economy,

they were frequently blamed for all of Astoria's economic ills. Indeed, on May 3, 1876, an editorial declared that the Chinese ". . . pauperize white people wherever they go."

More frequently, the paper made efforts to make them seem unintelligent or dishonest, or mock them. On May 8, 1876, for example, a story reported that a new machine at Booth's Cannery could attach labels at a rate of 1,000 per hour. The last sentence of the story read, "Apropos the imitative genius of the Chinaman, it was curious to note how readily a heathen mastered the intricacies of this really complicated machine." The implication was that the Chinese could imitate, but not think. Just short of two weeks later, on May 20, 1876, the paper reported that, "Two heathenish celestial brutes had been jailed for a shameful and intolerable nuisance in open day time." However, it did not describe what this "nuisance" was. In another story that focused on illegal activity, the town deputy marshal was reported on June 22, 1877 to have escorted two Chinese to Portland, presumably to jail, for selling whisky without a license.

Stories about how to deal with Chinese were also frequently seen. On May 16, 1876, for example, residents were advised to use "red hot pokers, cayenne pepper and clubs" if Chinese workers went on strike. But just a month later, on June 14, the paper issued an apparently contradictory editorial when it cautioned Astorians to restrict themselves to nonviolent methods when expelling Chinese, "lest men of clear minds with pure purposes are made to appear in a role not at all suited to their cause." Chinese also were reported to be inept at simple tasks such as transporting wood (August 2, 1877); and a Chinese with a cut was reported to have been treated by a doctor using a "garden hose" (August 10, 1877).

Most of the other stories concerned incidents such as strikes or accidents. For example, the May 4, 1876 paper reported that Chinese at the Booth's and Badollett canneries had refused to work without a $2 a month increase, but abandoned their strike after just a few hours. And a Chinese at Kinney's was reported on June 22, 1977 to have lost "one or two fingers" to a tin-cutting machine. Thus, it seemed odd that on July 17, 1877, *The Daily Astorian* reported that J. N. Armstrong, a prominent resident, invited the town's elite to admire a collection of Oriental art he had just brought back from Peking.

Two of the only mildly "neutral" stories were on June 12, 1876 and July 6, 1877 about the opening of a Chinese lodge and takeover by Chinese of a slaughterhouse. But some bias was apparent even in these. The lodge item referred to the founder as a "white-haired descendant of

Confucius." The other story reported that a "gang" of Chinese was operating what once was the Bergman and Berry facility, but that they made "a great deal more stink."

The paper contained dozens of stories about meetings of other fraternal organizations. These usually included details of the business transacted and the members who attended.

Chinese Invisibility

Aside from coverage of routine news, two events occurred that were sufficiently cataclysmic and close enough to the Astoria and Baker City - Canyon City areas that they should have received major coverage from papers in those cities.[21] These were the exclusion of Chinese from Tacoma and Seattle in 1885 and 1886 and the Snake River massacre on the Oregon - Idaho border in June 1887. As many as 3,000 Puget Sound - area Chinese had sought refuge in Astoria starting in October 1885.[22] That would have meant about 5,300 Chinese in Clatsop County, mainly in Astoria, to about 2,500 whites, a frightful scenario for a county that blamed the Chinese for all of its economic ills.

Yet between September 1, 1885 and February 20, 1886 *The Daily Astorian* printed only one paragraph, on October 16, about the flood of refugees, while at the same time using 20 stories about region-wide anti-Chinese meetings and firing of Chinese, and departures of Chinese on Pacific steamers. It would be difficult to believe the paper didn't know Chinese were streaming into the city. It seems more likely, at least in this case, that the omission was intentional. Perhaps the paper hoped that, if ignored, this "problem" would go away.

In the second event, seven whites attacked a camp at Log Cabin Bar on the Snake River, murdered 10 Chinese miners, and stole about $10,000 in gold dust. Four of the seven were ultimately arrested; one died in jail. The three who remained in custody were tried beginning May 15, 1888, and found not guilty on September 1. The trial took place in Baker City. It would have been expected that because of the depth of anti-Chinese feeling, the relevance of mining to the Canyon City area, and its proximity to the trial site, the *Grant County News* would have at least mentioned the start of the proceedings or their result, but between May 15 and July 26, 1888 it uttered not a word on the topic.

Distance apparently could not have been a reason for the omission. In the 10 weeks after the start of the trial, pages of the *News* contained, among others, stories about a circus in Baker City; a man convicted in

Pendleton for biting off another's nose in a bar room brawl; and a man who was hanged in Portland for murdering and dismembering his stepdaughter.

And during the month following the acquittal the paper printed several stories from Baker City and other distant parts of the state. Subjects included the return of the Grant County clerk from Baker City; a "disastrous fire" there the week of Sept. 6; and the beginning of the rebuilding process. There was also an item indicating that 500 patients now resided at the state mental hospital in Salem. Perhaps the most telling evidence occurred on July 12, 1888, when the paper reported the gunshot killing of a white miner on the Snake River. Apparently, the killing of a white miner was more important "news" than the trial of suspects in the robbery and killing of 10 Chinese miners.

Issues of the *Bedrock Democrat* were not available for the months following the murders or the trial. However, another paper, the *Baker County Reveille*, was available for the six weeks after the murders. The *Reveille* reported the incident on June 29, which would not be considered an unreasonable delay considering the fact that Baker City is 75 miles from the Oregon - Idaho border. But the initial report appeared as part of a story that a team of Chinese investigators had been dispatched from San Francisco to track down the killers.

This indirect dissemination of news would seem to suggest that the murders were common knowledge in Baker City, but for various reasons, did not make it into the papers of the period.

Economic Decline Fueled Distrust

The most striking common characteristic of these four papers' coverage of local Chinese was its absence. In addition to the extremely low number of stories when population is taken into consideration, none of the papers included Chinese in listings of births, marriages, deaths, or society news.[23]

Frontier papers served as a social archive, providing a record of the culture and history of a town. If a town had no paper, or one that ignored a segment of the population, it would be more difficult to reconstruct part of that segment's heritage. The June 12, 1876 *Daily Astorian* lodge-opening story, for example, did not describe what kind of organization was started, who could join, where the group met, or even the name of the "white-haired descendant of Confucius."

Similarly, ads for the Chinese physician Ah Moo appeared weekly in the *Bedrock Democrat* from January 1880 to March 1882, along with reports that the doctor had cured Caucasian patients of blood poisoning and diphtheria. Little else is known about Ah Moo except that he was in Baker City about two years and cured at least two patients. But what was his position in the community? That information is lost forever. Also lost is the heritage of one-fourth of the population of 1870s and 1880s Baker County.

It seems unlikely, despite the anti - Chinese hysteria of the 1870s and 1880s, that editors made a conscious effort to exclude the Chinese from their newspapers and cities. However, a number of factors could account for the way these early newspapers treated the Chinese.

The first and most obvious reason is racial bias. Bias was undoubtedly present because in the late 19th century, society itself was racist. Evidence of anti - Chinese bias was seen in the press and in society in the form of discriminatory laws. Historian Robert Edward Wynne, for example, mentioned bias in Jackson County mining laws. More recently, Portland State University professor Charles A. Tracy took a look at discriminatory laws and selective enforcement in Portland, Oregon, that resulted in the arrests of a disproportionately large number of Chinese,[24] but this alone would not explain why early papers shunned the Chinese. As Wynne wrote, at least some editors initially welcomed the new immigrants.[25]

Far more likely is that the papers turned on the Chinese because of a combination of reasons, as Wynne and authors Stuart Creighton Miller, Ronald Takaki, Shih-Shan Henry Tsai and Sucheng Chan suggested.[26] They seem to agree that the economic declines of the 1880s, exacerbated by racism and strange appearance and customs, turned the white population against the Chinese.

Five More Important Contributing Factors

In addition, there are five factors they did not touch on but which would be integral to a study of the relationship between newspapers and immigrants.

The first and most important is that, as Gaye Tuchman and later Richard Lentz wrote, editors (and for that matter non-editors) tend to move in social circles in which they feel most comfortable.[27] In frontier Oregon, newspaper editors and publishers were usually among a town's most prominent citizens. *Bedrock Democrat* publisher J. M. Shepherd, for example, was a Baker City lawyer who served as a delegate to state politi-

cal conventions. It would appear that because editors and publishers in Jacksonville, Canyon City, Baker City and Astoria were among their towns' "movers and shakers," they felt more comfortable associating with, and reporting the affairs of other movers and shakers.

On the other hand, Chinese miners or cannery workers also may have felt more at ease with other Chinese. They came to the United States as sojourners, hoping to make a small fortune and in a few years return home wealthy by Chinese, if not American standards. As such, they may not have cared that newspapers of the period ignored them. In addition, their inability to speak English and thus, communicate, and their different appearance were undoubtedly factors in the sparse attention they received.

Second, as Barbara Cloud wrote, frontier newspapers were frequently one-man operations in which the printer was also editor, and professional standards as we know them today did not exist. Consequently, the editor's political leanings also became the paper's. This apparently was true in Oregon as well as in other parts of the West.[28]

Third, the finding that the Chinese were rarely mentioned, even though surprising, was not inconsistent with what Chilton R. Bush and R.K. Bullock found in 1952. Their study of two San Francisco-area daily papers revealed that the names of people in different occupations do not appear in the news in the same proportion as their distribution in the population.[29] Thus, politicians were much more likely to make it into news columns than plumbers. The Chinese in early Oregon, it should be remembered, were almost all laborers and servants.

Fourth, the problem of focusing on whether silence is intentional, and thus "strategic," Lentz writes, is that doing so may " ... miss the larger point cited by Monica B. Morris when discussing the lack of coverage of the women's liberation movement during its early days. The absence of stories could not, she said, "lightly be construed as a deliberate and calculated strategy of social control.... Nonetheless, ... the result of lack of coverage would be much the same as if it were a deliberate strategy: the movement would remain unknown to the general public; it would be prevented from becoming news."[30]

And finally, "Chinese bashing" seems to have been popular in the late 19th century. The movement toward fairness–if not objectivity–in journalism did not begin until decades later, and there certainly wasn't pressure to diversify newsrooms and along with them coverage, in the 1870s and 1880s.

Endnotes

[1]Chinese surnames are, with two exceptions, always monosyllabic. The exceptions are Soohoo and Owyang.(sometimes spelled Ouyang). Common examples of Chinese surnames are Chiu, Chen and Wong. Japanese surnames, on the other hand, are always multisyllabic. Examples of Japanese surnames are Kawasaki, Yamamoto, Musashi and Honda.

[2]Robert Edward Wynne, *Reaction to the Chinese in the Pacific Northwest and British Columbia 1850-1910* (New York: Arno Press, 1978), 43.

[3]Wynne, 43.

[4]Wynne, 44. However, the mines in Josephine County were depleted quickly, and the Chinese population there was transitory. The *Ninth Census of the United States* shows that 634 Chinese lived in Jackson County, but only 223 remained in Josephine County in 1870.

[5]V. Blue, "The Mining Laws of Jackson County," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, 23, (1922).

[6]Wynne, 45.

[7]Port listings show that in August 1868 the Jeanne Alice arrived from Hong Kong with 430 Chinese. She was followed shortly by the Edward James with 380, the Garibaldi with 210, the Alden Besse with 180, the Forward with 330 and the Manila with 425. The passengers on these ships probably did not remain in Portland for very long. The *Ninth Census of the United States* in 1870 showed only 508 Chinese in the city. The situation changed along with conditions in other parts of the state, however. The *Eleventh Census of the United States* in 1890 showed that the Chinese population of Portland had snowballed to 5,184, whereas the number of Chinese in Eastern Oregon dropped precipitously. Only 326 remained in Grant County, and only 398 in Baker County. In Jackson County, there were only 224 Chinese in 1890.

[8]Shih-Shan Henry Tsai, *The Chinese Experience in America* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1986), 194, from the Bureau of Census.

[9]Chris Friday, *Organizing Asian-American Labor: The Pacific Coast Canned-Salmon Industry, 1870-1942* (Philadelphia, Pa.: Temple University Press, 1994), 56.

[10]Friday, 57.

[11]Fewer than 9,000 Chinese females entered the U.S. mainland between 1852 and the enactment of the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Law, according to Sucheng Chan, *Asian Americans: An Interpretive History* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1991), 104. Chan estimates that during that 30- year period there were never more than 5,000 Chinese women in what are now the 48 contiguous states at any one time.

[12]Friday, 57; from 23 May 1879, *Weekly Astorian.*

[13]Elmer Clarence Sandmeyer, *The Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1939), 57-77.

[14]Other sources indicate the number killed Rock Springs was 28. According to Tsai, *China and the Overseas Chinese in the United States, 1868-1911*, 72, a total of 15 were also injured and $147,000 of property destroyed in the Wyoming Territory town on 2 September 1885. The California towns were Los Angeles, San Francisco, Red Bluff, Yuba City, Redding and Chico.

[15]Jules Alexander Karlin, "Anti - Chinese Outbreak in Tacoma, 1885," *Pacific Historical Review,* 23 (1954) 271.

[16]The term "celestial" apparently came into use because the Emperor of China was said by the Chinese to be the "Son of Heaven." It is now considered to be derogatory.

[17]Wynne, 66; and *Morning Oregonian*, 17 February 1865, and 10 July 1865.

[18]Wynne, 67; and *Morning Oregonian*, 6 March 1867, and 10 April 1867.

[19]The *Ninth Census of the United States*, 3, indicated that in 1870 a total of 18.1 percent of the population of Josephine County and 13 percent of the population of Jackson County was Chinese.

[20]*The Daily Astorian*, 9 June 1876.

[21]According to Richard Lentz, "The Search for Strategic Silence," *American Journalism* (Winter 1991), 13, "Locating instances of strategic silence may be accomplished by reasoning from the visibility of the actors; the nature or circumstances of the event; the availability of knowledge to the writer or editor; deviations from journalistic practices; and the charactetistics of medium, genre, or particular media organization." An example of this silence, he writes, was *Newsweek* neglecting to

mention that Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was present when President Johnson signed the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

[22]According to Friday, 58, Astoria became a safe-haven because anti-Chinese feeling there never turned violent, as it did in numerous other cities in the West. He quotes the *Weekly Astorian* as reporting on 13 February 1886, that the town became "a sort of jumping off place . . . and they congregate here in the same fashion and for about the same reason that they cluster in San Francisco – because they are driven off elsewhere and have no place else to go." Further, many Astorians probably refrained from anti-Chinese activities because they feared the laborers might abandon the canneries, causing the local economy to collapse.

[23]Exclusion laws and the "sojourner" status of early Chinese immigrants meant that most of frontier Oregon's Chinese were single males. However, that would not explain their almost total absence from news of record and society columns.

[24]Charles A. Tracy, "Race, Crime and Social Policy: The Chinese in Oregon, 1871- 1885," *Crime and Social Justice*, (Winter 1980), 11. Tracy found that as a result of these laws, arrests of Chinese for "victimless" crimes such as prostitution, opium smoking and too many people in not enough space were as much as 10 times higher than for whites. It is unclear whether this adversely affected the image of the Chinese because they were excluded from newspapers. Thus, the arrests did not become public knowledge.

[25]Wynne, iv.

[26]Stuart Creighton Miller, *The Unwelcome Immigrant: The American Image of the Chinese, 1785-1882* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1969); Ronald Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1989); Sucheng Chan, *Asian Americans: An Interpretive History* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1991); Shih-Shan Henry Tsai, *The Chinese Experience in America* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1986).

[27]Gaye Tuchman wrote in *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality* (New York: Free Press, 1978), 138, that news events must "resonate" with a reporter's experiences. More recently, Lentz in "The Search for Strategic Silence," *American Journalism*, (1991) 10, wrote that "The version of reality . . . relies upon the production of meanings based not only upon published content but upon ways in which some things are not 'seen,' or if seen, not recorded . . . ." He continued, "Intention may not always explain the reason for editorial silence . . . . Silence may reflect not the journal's (or reporter's) intention so much as the power of ideology, customs, traditions, and mores in force at a given time."

[28]Barbara Cloud, *The Business of Newspapers on the Western Frontier*, (Reno, Nev.: University of Nevada Press, 1992).

[29]Chilton R. Bush, R.K. Bullock, "Names in the News: a study of two dailies," *Journalism Quarterly*, 29 (Spring 1952) 150, 151.

[30]Lentz, 12; and Monica B. Morris, "Newspapers and the New Feminists: Black Out as Social Control?" *Journalism Quarterly*, 50 (Spring 1973) 42.

Common Forms for Uncommon Actions: The Search for Political Organization in Dust Bowl California

By James Hamilton

This study addresses the forms of social criticism penned by migrant farmworkers who worked the California fields in the late 1930s and early 1940s through the examination of mimeographed newspapers published in a California migrant labor camp. It concludes that the inability of migrants to organize for effective political action was due not only to lack of resources or the strength of the status quo (which was sizable), but also to a failure to find a cultural means by which migrants could collectively see their situation, organize, and work to change it.

From 1935 until the beginning of WW II, the Dust Bowl migration was widely regarded as evidence of the failure of the United States' market economy to generate decent jobs and decent lives for all its citizens.[1] By the late 1930s, more than 500,000 people had left the south central states of Oklahoma, Arkansas, Texas, and Missouri, with more than 300,000 making their way to California, only to find infrequent, low-paying work amidst widespread persecution and inescapable poverty.[2]

Neither the presence of migrant farmworkers nor the living conditions they endured were new to Californian farms or to the 1930s. To the

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contrary, they had been long-standing features of state as well as national agriculture.[3] Yet what was new was the comparative legitimacy of alternative political movements and their organizational strength. Therefore, chances for widespread improvements in the migrant farmworkers' situation rested largely on their ability to join with these political movements and apply enough pressure to the rigid and reactionary agricultural industry and state political elite to bring about significant change.

The present study grapples with the complexities of producing an effective political movement, both in this case and in general, and the role of journalism and communication in this process. It is a contribution to recent work about alternative journalism, alternative political movements, and the alternative cultural forms they use.[4] Upon examining the cultural forms used by a selection of Anglo migrant farmworkers who worked the California fields in the late 1930s and early 1940s, the study addresses the usefulness of these forms for making sense of the situation in which Anglo migrant farmworkers found themselves, then to assess to what degree such cultural forms aided or inhibited their ability to organize politically.[5] Although this is a story of a proto-movement that never coalesced, much can be learned about strategies of alternative politics and the role of communication and culture by investigating failures as well as successes.[6]

Tension Between Individualism & Collectivism

The creation of an effective political alliance between labor and migrants depended on reconciling two distinctive and in many ways opposed traditions of labor activity. As Hyman Berman notes about the history of radical labor movements in the United States, the tension between individualism and collectivism constitutes the core of a "major problem [:] . . . whether it was [ever] possible for a Leninist[-style] movement with its centralized authority and its quasi-military discipline to coexist in a region [such as the American West] where the [labor] traditions are individualistic and even anarchistic."

In an investigation of such issues in the early 20th Century, Berman concludes that no synthesis was possible between "the individualist, iconoclastic spirit which characterized the frontier radical tradition" and "the building of a truly American working class revolutionary movement."[7] This major problem in radical organization was at the center of the difficulties between migrants and labor organizations. Overcoming this difference was a Herculean challenge for labor organizers and migrant activists—one that, in this case, was not met and that continues to this day.[8]

What makes such an examination possible is the survival of mimeographed newspapers that were published in migrant labor camps in the 1930s and 1940s. For purposes of this essay, the *Weed Patch Cultivator*, later named the *Tow-Sack Tattler*, provides the material on which one case can be documented.[9] The newspaper appeared from 1938 to 1942 in the federally run Arvin Migratory Labor Camp near Bakersfield, California.[10] Although the scattered issues and haphazardly preserved archival material that have survived do not allow one to make definitive statements about such matters as editorial practice and newspaper/management day-to-day relations, they begin to reveal a complex situation that speaks directly to the issues.

Although many government camps also published newspapers during this time, this particular camp newspaper deserves attention for two reasons. First, it was conceived and produced in the inaugural federal government camp, which served as the blueprint for all federal camps to follow.[11] By 1941, the federal Farm Security Administration (FSA) ran 53 camps in 11 states from California to Florida, Washington State to Texas, and many camps came to publish newspapers at a later date, likely relying on the Camp Arvin newspaper as the basic template as much as they did for other camp matters.[12]

Second, the camp in which this newspaper appeared was located in Kern County in the San Joaquin Valley—an area of high labor activity and a time during some of the largest agricultural strikes in the country.[13] Kern County constituted what Devra Weber calls "a relatively hospitable atmosphere for Anglo organizing." Remnants of earlier labor, populist, and socialist movements persisted, as did the Communist Party, which "found enough members there to become the strongest branch in the [San Joaquin] Valley," and the Socialist Party.[14] In autumn 1938, the largest strike in the state was staged by cotton pickers in Kern County, where some 3,000 workers stayed out of the cotton fields for two weeks. During 1939, although there were fewer strikes, those that did take place were larger than in the previous year, with the largest one involving the entire San Joaquin Valley, the conflict again over pay for work in the cotton fields.[15] Hence, efforts to fashion an alliance between migrant farmworkers and the labor movement had a great chance of occurring here, with the residue of such efforts more likely available for study today.[16]

The issue of how to examine such a process remains a topic of debate among journalism historians. Whatever position taken, these

debates suggest that journalism historians are not immune to siding with a particular theoretical perspective concerning the nature of communication and its role in social life.[17] Accordingly, this study also seeks to demonstrate the usefulness of a cultural perspective *vis-à-vis* other, mainstream perspectives.[18]

Instead of seeing newspaper items as means of persuasion or propaganda, as mechanically integrating individuals into social systems, or as individual expressions of unique views competing in a free and open marketplace of ideas, a cultural perspective seeks to detect and understand commonly held world views that made such items intelligible and meaningful in the first place, and how they may become a common basis of legitimacy and action.[19]

Creating a "Meaningful Cultural World"

Carey characterizes communication in this sense as "the construction and maintenance of an ordered, meaningful cultural world that can serve as a control and container for human action."[20] It is the production of this "meaningful cultural world" and the shape of its primary contours that are of interest here.[21] Correspondingly, the purpose of analysis is not to investigate whether attitudes were changed as a result of reading the newspaper, whether a supposedly singular migrant culture became integrated with an equally singular labor movement, nor to attempt to simply document what various people at that time and place ostensibly thought. Rather, it is to suggest in what ways previously unseen and unrecognized conditions of subjugation were made visible, palpable, and important enough perhaps to be recognized and acted upon collectively.

To do this, one studies forms in the historical context of their production and reception in order to understand how they provided the cultural basis for collective action. Cultural forms in this sense, writes Raymond Williams, are regarded as "common property, to be sure with differences of degree, of writers and audiences or readers, before any communicative composition can occur."[22]

Thus, forms constitute a social relationship (the requirement for collective action) in at least two ways. The first is that any form makes use of established social conventions if it is to be understood. Even the most avant-garde work depends on (an) already established set(s) of conventions in order for viewers or readers to judge its avant-gardism. Forms in this sense renew mutual assumptions, expectations, obligations, and understandings.[23] A second sense in which forms constitute a social

relationship is in terms of what they accomplish: the evoking, positing or proposition of a relationship, and, also, the evoking, positing or proposition of, in the words of Williams, "an active relationship to the experience being expressed."[24]

Therefore, when understood as a social relation, form is the means by which the making and understanding of social relations is attempted and always variably achieved. By implication, journalism and language use in general must be seen ultimately and fully as, again in Williams' words, "a special kind of material practice: that of human sociality."[25] Such a position suggests that, far from camp newspapers' being simply an inert "record of the process" of "subcultural construction" (as one historian of this situation puts it), they themselves were a major cultural mode of the production of social relations.[26]

Attention to form is of particular usefulness when addressing alternative media. As David Spencer points out, cultural forms such as songs, verse, stories, and fables generally have received little attention from labor historians in comparison to the more "serious" forms of essays, tracts, and speeches. However, cultural forms used by the rank and file are of immense importance in assessing social movements, because they are vernacular expressions of non-elite world views, thereby suggesting more defensibly popular instead of elite experience.[27]

The forms that migrant criticism of living and working conditions took in the newspaper included blustery personal statements and turgid, simplistic essays composed of labor union clichés. However, forms such as verse, personal commentary, and jokes had their basis in everyday migrant experience. Because they emerged from migrants' experience, if used to give shape and meaning to working and living conditions in which all labored, such forms had a greater potential of compellingly dramatizing exploitative conditions and therefore more of a chance of achieving widespread collective awareness and action.[28] What potential existed in forms used—and what did not—are the topics discussed in this article.

The Inescapable Reality of Beans & Dust

Living and working conditions of migrant farmworkers in California during the 1930s were generally acknowledged as desperate and unconscionable, but they were as inescapably a part of day-to-day reality as beans and dust. Despite these persistent conditions, little had been done to change them.[29] Although migrant laborers had worked California fields since the later 1800s, attempts to organize them had failed largely

because of the difficulty of organizing such a scattered and mobile workforce. As a result, radical activity earlier in the century had been limited to areas of high concentration of workers, such as timber camps and anarchistic activities of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW).[30]

By the 1930s, with the renewed legitimacy of labor, organizing activity among farmworkers picked up, beginning with the efforts of the Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union (CAWIU). Few long-term gains were made, however, before organizational difficulties and wave after wave of vigilante repression beat the union down to the point where, by the mid-1930s, it disbanded.[31] What made organizing so difficult was the federal government's and labor's shunning of migrant farmworkers and their plight.

The American Federation of Labor (AFL) strongly resisted any attempt to create an affiliated farmworkers' union because it emphasized its heritage of supporting skilled craftsmen, not manual laborers. Also, non-farmworker members were much more desirable for union-building activities because, as Cletus Daniel notes, they were "overwhelmingly nonmigratory, able to afford modest union dues, and eligible to claim the rights and protections afforded by the National Labor Relations Act," the last reason a particularly damning one for farmworkers, the only labor group excluded from the protection of federal legislation.[32]

Agricultural Industry Growth Spurs Union Activity

However, the industrial-scale growth of California agriculture created a similarly industrial-scale work force in size and concentration, thereby making organization more possible than it had been. During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, few areas of the economy had been more affected by the growing efficiency of industrial capital than agriculture.[33] Furthermore, such industrialization had become the dominant practice in California, where concentrations of mobile workers were needed in increasingly large numbers to service the state's labor-intensive cash crops.[34] The concentration of wage workers, combined with increasingly desperate living and working conditions, led to an explosive situation, which organized labor saw as an opportunity and that those who ran the state's agricultural industry saw as a substantial threat.[35]

Both government and labor became involved in this emerging situation. Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal government attempted to

address it through the Resettlement Administration, later becoming the Farm Security Administration (FSA).[36] Organized labor in the form of the Congress of Industrial Organization (CIO), under the leadership of John L. Lewis and his seeming tolerance of Communist Party of the United States of America (CPUSA) members and activities, also committed resources to organizing migrant farmworkers.[37] In particular, the political potential of tens of thousands of alienated farmworkers convinced some in the CIO to try to merge migrants into a larger national organization. Therefore, the increasing industrialization of the California agricultural industry, combined with the reformist stance of the federal government and the emergence of the CIO and its initial willingness to work on behalf of migrant farmworkers, helped provide an institutional basis for the agrarian radicalism in California of the late 1930s.

While the federal government started its migrant labor camp program, union organizers for the CIO-affiliated United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America (UCAPAWA) set out to organize migrant workers into a potent national political force aligned with the goals of labor. As noted earlier, initial results—large strikes in 1938 and 1939, with the epicenter being the San Joaquin Valley—were important.[38] Migrants lived and worked, and the camp newspaper was initially written, produced, distributed, and read in this explosive context, with the federal camp project and labor unions aligned against the agricultural industry and state government supporters.

Camp Newspapers Emerge

The government-funded camp newspaper was but a recent example of the long-standing government practice of self-promotion, to which substantial financial resources had long been channeled and that were at a high level in the 1930s.[39] Organized labor's involvement in the camp newspaper continued a long-standing tradition of using newspapers to aid the organization of its activities, and was linked to similar uses as the labor press and the radical press.[40] Yet, due to institutional requirements, each was limited to working through the migrant social formation instead of controlling content directly.

Far from being an indigenous response by migrant farmworkers, the newspaper was established, supported, and encouraged by the Farm Security Administration (FSA) for two reasons. The first is that it played a part in the official FSA goal of "rehabilitating" migrants from "rootless wanderers" to responsible, wage-earning citizen-consumers.[41] The other

side of this seemingly altruistic goal was the political need for incorporating an increasingly desperate, disenfranchised portion of the populace that had nothing to lose and everything to gain from radical, if not revolutionary, activism.[42] An important component of this rehabilitation was the camp newspaper, which migrants were supposed to read and produce in order to learn the role of news in a liberal democracy and the boundaries within which such activity "properly" occurred.[43]

The second reason the FSA established and supported the camp newspaper was for institutional survival. In addition to playing a role in the rehabilitation program, the newspaper was intended to provide evidence to a skeptical Congress of migrant "rehabilitation" and, therefore, that money appropriated by Congress was being well-spent. From the beginning of the program in 1935, congressional opponents of New Deal policies found the FSA a highly visible example of a government program run amok. FSA directors therefore spent a good deal of resources to document activities and to build public approval and political support for the camp program as humanitarian aid.[44] Camp newspapers were important to these efforts, as well.

However, there were problems with having the FSA support and promote camp newspapers. The Associated Farmers and other opponents to organized agricultural labor felt that, should migrants organize, it could threaten their control of the industry. Government migrant labor camps already gave laborers a chance to live with and get to know each other, thereby creating more of an opportunity to organize.[45] If camps became a base of labor activity (newspapers being one important means of organization), growers would have to apply political pressure to undercut the FSA camp program, thereby eliminating this protective environment for union activities.[46] The camp education program therefore contained fundamental contradictions. It helped the FSA meet its pedagogical goals by supposedly helping to build a self-governing democratic community. But the more successful the program was, the more it threatened growers' control of the agricultural industry, thereby antagonizing a powerful coalition of interests that had the power statewide and nationally to reduce or end the FSA's funding.[47]

Camp newspapers therefore came to occupy a very important ideological role that had potential effects far beyond the boundaries of Camp Arvin. Opposition to the camp program could be minimized if the newspaper successfully transformed rootless migrants into rooted, wage-earning middle-class citizens, but opposition would certainly increase if the newspaper helped build a serious labor movement. Because of these

high stakes, the FSA not only helped establish camp newspapers, but the institutional imperative was to shape them in very particular ways. Certain roles had to be promoted and others excluded if the (re)educational program was to succeed and the FSA survive.

Although explicit controls on content could not be legally instituted, Camp Arvin management still attempted to control the paper indirectly from the very first issue through the (re)educational program and related regulations. Despite the reported Camp Committee decision to start the paper, its editorial policy stated in the first issue suggests substantial management involvement.[48] In addition to emphasizing the democratic function of using the paper to "discuss ideas" (thereby indicating its kinship with the education program already in place), the use of "your" and "them" (instead of "our" and "us") makes clear the distinctness of the writer from the migrant population:

> [The newspaper] should serve the people of Camp in these ways: (1) to inform them of working conditions in general and in this district; (2) to make it possible for them to discuss ideas or events which are important to them; (3) to let the campers know what is going on in Camp, and above all feel that it is your paper; and lets have your ideas, jokes, poetry etc. Any contributions should be left with Earl Stone [the camp secretary].[49]

Another passage further in this statement directly addressed the kind of stories to be allowed: "Any camper with something to say, *as long as it has interest for the Campers in general*, entertaining or serious, may have space"[50] [emphasis added]. Who is doing the deciding is never made explicit, but, as the newspaper is being produced in government offices and by government-hired workers, and based on how the educational program was managed, it is reasonable to assume that the camp manager would be called in to decide.

Camp Manager Controls Content

The camp manager had many ways of controlling the newspaper, thereby keeping it within the limitations dictated by the FSA goals of maximizing its educational value and minimizing its threat to California growers. Methods included appointing the editor; supplying all materials, including paper, a typewriter, and access to a mimeograph machine; and

making available the camp secretary to transcribe migrant-donated items, and to type and produce the newspaper.[51] Material aid included allowing the newspapers to be sent through the mail free of charge.

Camp newspapers were routinely sent to other migrant camps as well as to area libraries and to the FSA home office, which used stories from them for its own public relations materials.[52] Of course, this support served as a control because it could be withdrawn at any time, thus silencing the paper. Although the campers' fund (generated by a 10 cent per site per day fee) soon paid for the paper on which the newspaper was printed, the government continued to provide production support.[53] The FSA regarded the overall value of the newspaper highly enough that, when migrant interest was low, management kept it going. As September and October were peak work times of the year, few migrants had the energy or interest to carry on the newspaper during these months, and so the duty to keep the paper going was assumed and exercised by management.[54]

Despite these efforts to shape and control the newspaper, the relationships between labor, the migrants, and the FSA were such that complete FSA control of the newspaper was, at least, impractical and, at most, impossible. If the extent to which its officers directed efforts toward the FSA camps is any indication, the UCAPAWA felt that the government camps were of great strategic value. At least five FSA camps (Arvin, Gridley, Marysville, Shafter, and Visalia) had active locals of the UCAPAWA, the Worker's Alliance of America (a national pressure group aligned with the UCAPAWA), or both, and during strikes the UCAPAWA used several FSA camps as strike headquarters without interference from government employees.[55]

In addition, labor activity in the government camps was possible largely because of the sympathy most FSA personnel—especially those in the field—had for the goals of organized labor. Many FSA workers, including the camp managers (mostly liberals, some socialists), personally supported efforts by the migrants to organize.[56] However, no federal worker could publicly take such a stance for fear of antagonizing the FSA's powerful political opponents.

Publicly, the official FSA position toward the camp newspaper and toward the struggle between unions and growers was neutral. Whenever the newspapers and their control were mentioned, public relations officer Frederick Soule stressed that the papers were "community institutions over which the Farm Security Administration has no control."[57] However, in practice, the two qualities most characteristic of the FSA camp manag-

ers—sympathy toward the workers' struggle for bargaining power, and the goal of teaching migrants the ways of democratic self-reliance—allowed the newspaper to work toward a far greater than intended range of goals.

Labor presence in the camp paper was sporadic, but it peaked during the 1939 strike, assisted by Sam Birkhimer, the editor of the newspaper by October 1939, and a UCAPAWA organizer.[58] In addition to explanatory essays about the purposes of the UCAPAWA and the WA of A, he penned and printed accounts of how the organizing in the fields was conducted as well as pep talks to try to maintain likely flagging interest and support near its end.[59]

Developing Migrant Cultures

The newspaper therefore took shape within these sets of conditions. It consisted of a single sheet, 8 inches wide and 15 inches deep. The masthead was hand-drawn, and stories consisted of typed columns, with copies produced by mimeograph.

Although conditions and the institutional support existed for the formation of a migrant farmworker union and an alliance with the CIO, the complexity of those labeled "Dust Bowl migrants" worked against such formulaic responses. Historian James Gregory describes them as "Southwestern 'plain-folk'," whose culture and outlook was linked to a long-standing heritage of anti-monopoly and citizen-producer ideas, agrarian and working class radicalism, and nationalist and sometimes racist attempts to preserve the country's white male Protestant dominance. As Gregory notes, catechisms in this heritage typically stressed "the dignity of hard work and plain living and promised deliverance from the forces of power, privilege, and moral pollution, near and far."[60] Thus, nationalism, populism, racism, and an often evangelical religiousness were complexly blended.[61]

While sympathetic to critiques of industrialists and others in authority, migrants also shared a belief in a white Protestant and an often intensely patriotic nationalism, and, in this way, held deeply and simultaneously radical and conservative views.[62] One can make sense of these contradictions by understanding them in terms of individualism and collectivism. By doing so, their social implications become clearer.

Intensely individualistic, their approach toward living stressed individual strength and persistence — fitting the saying "God helps those who help themselves." Individualism spawned such diverse responses to often desperate living conditions as stoic fatalism and resignation, reluc-

tance or heated resistance to pressure to join a group, or the favoring of disorganization rather than taking the chance of worsening one's lot through aligning with the wrong people or the wrong cause.

Yet many also shared a collectivism in terms of a sentimental, homespun regard for one's family, hometown, people, state, region and nation. Where individualism typically underwrote inaction or resistance, collectivism helped constitute a source of pride while it underwrote voluntaristic activity. It legitimized taking pride in being American, an "Okie" or "Arkie" (a term of derision turned into a term of pride when used by a migrant), a member of a union, or as a farmer.

Individualism Versus Collectivism

Such a dynamic was the basis for contradictory responses to a sociologist's interviews during the late 1930s and early 1940s with migrants who lived in Kern County—some of whom lived for a time at Camp Arvin, the camp at which the newspaper analyzed for this study was produced.[63] Even while professing pride as Americans, migrants still advocated the kinds of ideas promoted by politically radical labor organizers to correct the injustices suffered in a failing American society.

> If they cut that relief off in California they will have a revolution in California. They'll [migrants will] fight fer it, they always have . . . . And by-god I ain't no Communist, but I may sound like one though.[64]

It also was the basis for conflict between generations. In 1936, a supporter of organizing migrant labor noted this disagreement within one family. Oklahoman Jim Killen, reported the writer, "believed in organization as the devout believe in religion," although he was not entirely committed to labor. However, there was substantial disagreement within his family about the best attitude and action to take, indicating differing generational, gender and political alignments in terms of individualism and collectivism.

> His brother talks violence; his father industrial democracy; his mother mumbles.
>
> His father: "There kaint be any recovery until the workingman gets paid enough so he can buy what there is to sell."
>
> His mother: "It's been worser than this in Oklahoma. There's

been times when we'd been glad to work for 10 cents a day." His brother: "Blast their God damn fields with dynamite."[65]

In the same way that they could be patriots while finding severe faults with the American system, migrants could champion the cause of labor while at the same time denouncing it. Many were skeptical of the CIO because of its (as they put it) Communism, disorganization, lazy members who joined only to avoid working, and high-rolling union leaders' exploitation of the rank-and-file. However, many also found value in collective action as part of the union, which they saw as the only way to bring about better pay, prevent starvation and help those on relief get their fair share.[66]

Thus, collectivism - individualism as articulated within populist and radical labor traditions comprised the cultural context of migrants' activity. Migrants were not of a single mind, but instead rallied and fragmented in contradictory ways, sharing with the FSA a patriotism and the belief that migrants' problems in America were due to the corruption of a sound, egalitarian political system rather than to defects inherent in that system. The migrants shared with the UCAPAWA an anger at migrants' economic subjugation. Their goal was to achieve, in Oklahoman, folk-singer and migrant- and labor-spokesman Woody Guthrie's words, "a good job at honest pay," which would require widespread changes in the status quo.[67]

What made this situation particularly complex was the fact that points of agreement were also polarizing differences. Migrants often chafed within the authoritarian, patriarchal FSA educational program, which addressed symptoms rather than causes of the migrants' plight, and this individualism complicated efforts by the portion of migrants who were union-minded to build a collective consciousness that might become the basis for collective political action.[68] Also, despite the Popular Front strategy of the Communist Party of America (CPUSA) which called for collaboration with trade unions rather than revolution, the UCAPAWA's revolutionary rhetoric offended many migrants' deep-seated faith in the United States and confirmed their equally deep fear of "creeping" communism.[69]

"Don't Be What You Ain't"

Although the FSA placed official notices of various kinds in the newspaper (a perk from its role of providing support), most items came

from migrant farmworkers who lived in the camp. These contributions took many forms, ranging from letters to the editor, anonymous gossip columns, and one-liner jokes to lengthy essays about the labor situation. By seeing these items in social terms, how they did or didn't fit with the aim of organizing into a self-aware political force becomes clearer.

The individualism of migrant culture was expressed in a variety of items, but, most evocatively, in verse which expressed a rugged, good-natured self-sufficiency and unpretentiousness:

> Don't be what you ain't
> Jes' be what you is
> If you is not what you am
> Then you is not what you is
> If you're just a little tadpole
> Don't try to be a frog
> If you're just a tail
> Don't try to wag the dog.
> You can always pass the plate
> If you can't exhort and preach
> If you're just a little pebble
> Don't try to be the beach.
> Don't be what you ain't
> Jes' be what you is,
> For the man who plays it square
> Is a-goin' to get "his."
> — Juanita Davis.[70]

This often became a fatalism, underscored by religious resignation, such as in a poem that concluded: "It is not for us to understand / Just leave it all in jessus (sic) hand."[71]

Individualistic items also addressed the specific situation of farm laborers in California, but they often took the form of personal statements that justified only individual actions. Reluctance to appear "uppity" by telling others what to do undercut their collective potential, such as in a personal statement by a farmworker with a family who, during the 1938 strike, mentioned the inequity of some people staying out only for a few days, then returning to work in the fields before the strike achieved its goals. As he explains, "I don't know whether to call them scabs or not," because they had to work to get food to eat. He concludes that his family has enough food to hold out longer, and that "my family has no intention

of going back to the cotton fields until this strike is over," thereby explaining his reasoning only for himself and his family, which others could take or leave.[72] Such reluctance to tell others what to think and what to do—and regarding such people as bossy and know-it-alls—ran deeply in many items, such as a poem that poked fun at "grumblers," who complained about everything. The advice given to people who were confronted with grumblers was to "turn a deaf ear, and pretend you can't hear."[73]

Calls for Collectivism Failed

However, as organized action can only take place and be represented in collective terms, cultural forms that presented the common situation and case were essential for this mobilization to have a chance. The editor of August 1939 appealed to migrants for more contributions to the newspaper, and her explanation suggests the general awareness of the ability of newspaper items to evoke common experience.

> If you've been moved, either to laugh or cry by something that's happened to you or around you, it's pretty certain that some of your neighbors would be moved in the same way if they saw the story in print.[74]

With some exceptions, the potential of working collectively for change was never realized. Although collectivist appeals were often made, such expressions either did not address the immediate, concrete situation; were simplified (and therefore easily discounted as empty slogans or pie-in-the-sky wishes); or were too abstract, therefore not linking effectively the day-to-day working reality of individual migrants with the structural conditions of subjugation.

Collective calls that did not address the specific situation attempted to organize migrants socially, but not in the service of labor activism. Many migrants saw no necessary role for a radical critique of the United States' political and economic system, and items in the newspaper that expressed this version of collectivism, such as the poem that follows, did so in uncritical terms.

> Makes no difference where you wander,
> Makes no difference where you roam.
> You don't have to stop and ponder,
> For a place to call your home.

When they ask you where you were born lad,
Speak right up - be proud to say,
That your home's the land of Uncle Sam,
The good old U.S.A.
— A Camper.[75]

A collective-minded religious confession in verse also countered individualism, but in a way that made the current, earthly situation irrelevant when compared to greater goals.

Lord help me live from day to day,
In such a self and helpful way,
That when I kneel to pray,
my prayers may help others.
Help me Lord in all the works I do,
To ever be sincere and true,
And know that all I do for you,
must need be done for others.
— Mrs. Shatwell.[76]

Appeals that simplified the situation did not address the depth of the problem or the difficulty of the solution. For example, after a writer notes the inequity of cotton growers getting $14 per hundredweight while those who pick it get 75 cents, he concludes that the industry sets the price and that, only if workers were organized, "your trouble would be over."[77] Another item on the same page concludes "you people who are picking this 80 cent cotton surely can't expect a lot of favors from the good people of California." The solution was simply to "wake up and git in line don't sleep all your life."[78]

Poems and song lyrics urged migrant laborers to "get off the row" and join the CIO.[79] Reprinted lyrics to songs sung on the picket lines as well as those penned by Woody Guthrie appeared often.[80] Some of these songs parodied or appropriated others, such as in "Associated Farmer Has a Farm."[81] Hand-drawn pictures were used as well, such as one example that consisted of the head and shoulders of Woody Guthrie, with a caption: "The Dust Bowl Kid says: Prices is *High* wages *Low* / A man that would pick / 80 cents cotton is a slave / and nothing more! — Woody."[82] But, whatever value they may have had in terms of momentary morale, none served as a deeper critique which might have sparked sustained resistance.

Examples of simplified and abstract appeals include a series of self-described "weekly letters from the editor" which were penned by a recent arrival to Camp Arvin from another camp nearby and appeared during the 1939 strike. His aim was to "explain what different organized groups are and what they stand for," beginning with the Workers Alliance of America and continuing with the UCAPAWA. Overall goals of the WA of A were to "bring about real economic recovery, to assure useful work at decent wages for all willing workers, to promote greater purchasing power among the people and to provide real social security for all" — laudable, yet entirely future, abstract goals that spoke little to farmworkers concerned with where to find food immediately.[83]

Later the same month, the editor attempted to explain how unions work by using examples such as how a team of horses can accomplish more by working together and how a car runs well when all parts are working. Such appeals still did not explain why it continued to be so difficult to organize, instead simply proposing "wouldn't it be wonderful if we were all joined together in one or more organizations and cooperated with each other in times like we are not having."[84]

The key to producing a collective consciousness was not in ignoring individualism or in simply asserting an automatic, abstract collectivism, but in overcoming the polarization altogether by recognizing migrants' situation as, paradoxically, a collective experience of alienation. Wandering and working as a purposeless, isolated individual was a typical theme of individualistic items, yet some items were able to dramatize alienation as a collective experience encouraged by specific conditions.

One of the few examples of this is a remarkable verse titled "Cotton Fever" which depicted the alienating experience of toiling as an individual in the cotton fields. Its form is a square dance call. The square dance was the primary cultural form of popular (as opposed to authoritarian) gatherings. Weekly square dances that attracted workers from camps miles around were staples of camp life. In this way, its use relied upon the intimate knowledge of all farmworkers. However, this square dance was not for enjoyment. The caller was not a person, but cotton bolls, setting the cadence and dictating pickers' every move. The poem ends with the cotton bolls still calling, reminding the pickers that this life was hard, but that this work was better than dying as a pauper, which would put one's surviving relatives into debt. Farm labor in current conditions was the only choice allowed.

COTTON FEVER

Along the road on either side
Cotton green and two miles wide.
Fields fan out in rows string-straight,
And a boll flings out his wadded bait
And grins at me and seems to say:
"You'll be a' grabbin' at me one day
At six bits a hundred weight."

Then the bolls started rustling,
Shouting in the air
Just like as if they was callin'
Off a square:
"Chase that possum, chase that coon,
Chase that cotton boll around the moon.
Crawl down a row and stand up straight
On a six-bit whirl for a hundred weight
Hunker on along and grab 'er all around.
Lint's heaped up an' a record yield;
Gin's chuck full so gin 'er in the field.
You can live on the land till the
Day you die,—
Jus' as long as you leave when the
Crops laid by.
So pick 'er on down to the end in the gloam,
Then swing up your sack and promenade home.
Meet your baby, pat him on the head
Feed him white beans an' a piece of corn bread.
No need to worry, he'll go freight —
At jus' six bit a hundered weight."

And so I mosey down the hill
Cotton bolls a-callin' still:

"At Long Row's End the Boss Man wait,
Nail you up in a wooden crate.
At six bits a hundered livin's hard,
But dyin's dear in the County Yard —
At twenty-five bucks a hundered weight!"
—A Camper.[85]

Migrants earned money in the cotton fields, but precious little of it and at the price of dehumanization. They best fit this system when they didn't think, but just listened to the call of the bolls and worked as isolated individuals. It was a "fever," a sign of sickness, not of well-being.

No other item worked culturally in the same way as this verse. Similar poems about working in the fields neglected to talk about the relationship between workers and conditions, emphasizing instead individual reactions to it.[86] Others criticized corrupt institutions, such as "the kept press," but neglect to link migrants' everyday experience to the case. The issue of why a corrupt, commercial press matters to migrant farmworkers who are wholly concerned with simply feeding their families from day to day was never broached.[87] Although a cultural solution to the problem of organization momentarily surfaced, it was far too little and far too late.

Keys to Cultural Change

Upon the end of the 1939 growing season and the onset of WW II, the institutional milieu changed substantially. Many conditions and developments caused the UCAPAWA's provisional presence to wane. The continual problem of organizing migrant farmworkers was never solved, and CIO head John Lewis' disinterest in it made finding a solution even more difficult.[88] CPUSA moral credibility was seriously impaired by the signing of the non-aggression pact between the Soviets and the Nazis. Combined with the wartime improvement in the nation's economy (which meant large numbers of new war-related jobs for unskilled workers in southern California), and increased nationalism which undercut oppositional positions, labor's appeal and effect in the California fields was generally neutralized.[89] After the high season of 1939, labor activity quickly dissipated.

The FSA stepped into the void left by the collapsed labor movement. Under constant threat of congressionally mandated disbandment, the FSA opportunistically settled on a new, unassailably patriotic goal of aiding wartime food production.[90] Consequently, the FSA became far less tolerant of migrant uses of the newspaper that were contrary to this new purpose. With organized labor virtually gone from the institutional scene and disinterest in aiding the new FSA goal tantamount to being labeled a traitor, the FSA soon exercised its authority unopposed. From the end of 1939 to the end of the camp newspaper in 1942, with the collapse of the influence of organized labor and the radical left, hegemonic identification

of migrants with the FSA and the existing American political system was largely achieved.

The fashioning of a cultural means of bridging the contradiction between individualism and collectivism and rallying it for political organization constituted a need that, with only a few exceptions, was not met. Migrant resistance was at most unorganized, with union organizers more often scrambling after wildcat strikes than planning them.[91] The case described in this study suggests that such failures were not due only to lack of resources (although money to support strikes was always in short supply), living and working conditions that weren't as bad as many portray them to be (they were often far worse), or the strength of the status quo (which was sizable), but in a failure of a means by which migrants could embody the situation culturally, organize, and work to change it.

Endnotes

[1]Widely read and cited examinations/polemics include Carey McWilliams, *Factories in the Field; The Story of Migratory Farm Labor in California* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1939); John Steinbeck, *The Grapes of Wrath* (New York: The Viking Press, 1939); and the tremendous volume of photographs generated by Roy Stryker, Dorothea Lange, and others photographers of the Farm Security Administration, which appeared in popular magazines and newspapers across the country. See Carl Fleischhauer and Beverly W. Brannan, (eds.), *Documenting America, 1935-1943* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).

[2]McWilliams, *Factories*; James Gregory, *American Exodus; The Dust Bowl Migration and Okie Culture in California* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 3-35; U.S., Congress, Senate, Committee on Education and Labor, *Violations of Free Speech and Rights of Labor*, reprint ed. (New York: Arno Press, 1975); Walter J. Stein, "A New Deal Experiment with Guided Democracy: The FSA Migrant Camps in California," *Canadian Historical Papers 1970*, 132-146; James Hamilton, "Educating Patriots, Recruiting Radicals: The Migrant Camp Newspaper at Arvin, California," *Communication* 13 (1993), 255-275.

[3]More moved in the 1920s than in the 1930s, but circumstances had changed drastically. McWilliams, *Factories*, 7-8, 293; S. Rexford Black, *Report on the California State Labor Camps* (San Francisco: California State Unemployment Commission, 1932), 9; Don Mitchell, *The Lie of the Land; Migrant Workers and the California Landscape* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996).

[4]See, for example, David Ralph Spencer, "Rhymes and Reasons: Canadian Victorian Labor Journalism and the Oral Tradition," *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 16 (Winter 1992): 72-90; and various essays in Hanno Hardt and Bonnie Brennen, eds., *Newsworkers, Toward a History of the Rank and File* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995).

[5]For greater depth, see James Hamilton, "(Re)Writing Communities Dust-Bowl Migrant Identities and the Farm Security Administration Camp Newspaper at Arvin, California, 1938-1942," (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1993).

6With a similar intention, Todd Gitlin investigates the fragmentation of left politics in the last 25 years, with the hope of identifying resources for its renewal. See *The Twilight of Common Dreams* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 1995). See also David Trend, "Rethinking Media Activism: Why the Left is Losing the Culture War," *Socialist Review* 23:2 (1993): 5-33.

[7]Hyman Berman, "Communism and the Frontier Tradition," *European Contributions to American*

Studies 16 (1989): 139, 148. See also Eric Foner, "Why is There No Socialism in the United States?," *History Workshop Journal* 17 (1984): 57-80. Agricultural radicals often aligned with various forms of anarchism, while industrial activists were more often aligned with collective action, and this difference has a long heritage. For an analysis of this conflict during the late 19th Century, see Theodore Saloutos, "Radicalism and the Agrarian Tradition," in *Failure of a Dream? Essays in the History of American Socialism*, rev. ed., John H.M. Laslett and Seymour Martin Lipsett, eds. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 52-81.

[8]Evidence of the continued problems includes Gregory, *Exodus*, 102-20; Susan Ferriss and Ricardo Sandoval, *The Fight In The Fields: Caesar Chavez And The Farmworkers Movement* (New York : Harcourt Brace, 1997); Richard Griswold del Castillo and Richard A. Garcia, *Caesar Chavez: A Triumph Of Spirit* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995); and Ronald B. Taylor, *Chavez and the Farm Workers* (Boston: Beacon Press 1975). An early bibliography of the movement is Beverly Fodell, *Caesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers; A Selective Bibliography* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1974).

[9]The run of the Arvin camp newspaper is in places very sparse, due to uneven publication and somewhat haphazard preservation. Largely complimentary holdings of surviving issues are held at the National Archives-Pacific Sierra Region in San Bruno, California and at the University of California at Berkeley.

[10]No end-date for the newspaper is listed in *The National Union Catalog Pre-1956 Imprints*, v. 617 (Chicago: American Library Association, 1979), 661. The most recent issue that can be located is dated 5 February 1942.

[11]Camp Arvin was a continuation of an existing State of California camp. See State Relief Administration of California, Division of Special Surveys and Studies, *Migratory Labor in California* (San Francisco: State Relief Administration of California, 1936); Albert Crouch, *Housing Migratory Agricultural Workers in California, 1919-1948* (Ph.D. diss., University of California, 1948; reprint San Francisco: R and E Associates, 1975).

[12]Camp newspapers were circulated among the various camps. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Farm Security Administration, *Report of the Farm Security Administration, 1941* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Farm Security Administration, 1941), 38; Jerome Wilcox, correspondence with Frederick Soule, 9 April and 12 April 1940; File 163-01, "Genl [Jan. to June 1940] [1]"; General Correspondence, 1940-42; Farm Security Administration, San Francisco/ Berkeley; Records of the Farm Security Administration, Record Group 96; National Archives—Pacific Sierra Region, San Bruno, California [hereafter referred to as General Correspondence, FSA]; Katherine Deitz, "Community and Family Services Activities Described in Narrative Reports from Regions VI and XII, 1941"; File 934, "Jan 1935-1939 Dec. inclusive [1]"; General Correspondence, FSA. In an August 1936 report to FSA Region IX director Jonathon Garst, sociologist Eric Thomsen emphasized the importance of the pioneering efforts of Thomas Collins, the initial manager of Camp Arvin, in conceiving of and putting together not only the Camp Arvin educational program, but the value such efforts have for camps to follow: "I can't help [but] think of Collins' work as absolutely standard-forming; I can think of no possibility of setting up a desirable camp program for migratory workers anywhere which ignores the basic principles that govern Collins' work..." See Eric Thomsen, "Preliminary Report on Arvin Migratory Camp," 3 August 1936; File RF-CF-16-918, "Arvin, reports prior 7-1-40"; Coded Administration Camp Files, 1933-45—Arvin; Farm Security Administration, San Francisco/Berkeley, Record Group 96, Records of the Farm Security Administration, National Archives—Pacific Sierra Region, San Bruno, California [hereafter cited as Arvin Camp Records]. For more on the educational program and its development, see Stein, "New Deal Experiment"; and Hamilton, "Educating Patriots."

[13]Devra Weber, *Dark Sweat, White Gold; California Farm Workers, Cotton, and the New Deal* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 165, 181.

[14]Weber, *Dark Sweat*, 153-161.

[15]Weber, *Dark Sweat*, 183; Linda C. Majka and Theo J. Majka, *Farmworkers, Agribusiness, and the State* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982), 128-129.

[16]United States, Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Labor Unionism in American Agriculture*, by Stuart Jamieson, Bulletin No. 836 (Washington: GPO, 1945; reprint New York: Arno Press, 1975); Cletus E. Daniel, *Bitter Harvest; A History of California Farmworkers, 1870-1941* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981); and Majka and Majka, *Farmworkers*.

[17]For example, James D. Startt and William David Sloan argue that interpretations should arise from the material rather than be imposed upon it (*Historical Methods in Mass Communication*

(Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1989), 19-39). However, although this advice is in a more basic sense to not use a theory rigidly, the situation is more complex than these and other commentators make it out to be. How they decide which facts are more relevant than others is by relying on a theoretical perspective to sift the relevant from the non-relevant, however implicit that perspective may be. That all historical writing is from a theoretical perspective is persuasively argued in James A. Henretta, "Social History as Lived and Written," *American Historical Review* 84 (December 1979): 1293-1323; Hanno Hardt and Bonnie Brennen, "Introduction: Communication and the Question of History," *Communication Theory* 3 (May 1993), 130-136; and Hanno Hardt, "Without the Rank and File: Journalism History, Media Workers, and Problems of Representation," in Hardt and Brennen, eds., *Newsworkers*, 1-29.

[18]Examples of traditional perspectives used in similar topics include John Stevens, "From Behind Barbed Wire: Freedom of the Press in World War II Japanese Center," *Journalism Quarterly* 48 (Summer 1971): 279-287; Jay Friedlander, "Journalism Behind Barbed Wire, 1941-1942: An Arkansas Relocation Camp Newspaper," *Journalism Quarterly* 62:2 (1985): 243-246, 271; and Lauren Kessler, "Fettered Freedoms: The Journalism of World War II Japanese Internment Camps," *Journalism History* 15:2/3 (1988): 70-79.

[19]Of course, there are many cultural perspectives, and quite a number of disagreements between them. Among the many discussions, see Paul Duncum, "Approaches to Cultural Analysis," *Journal of American Culture* 10:2 (1987): 1-15; Stuart Hall, "The Rediscovery of 'Ideology': Return of the Repressed in Media Studies," in *Culture, Society, and the Media*, reprint ed. (New York and London: Routledge, 1988), 56-90; and Raymond Williams, "The Uses of Cultural Theory," *New Left Review* 158 (July/August 1986): 19-31.

[20]James Carey, "A Cultural Approach to Communication," in *Communication and Culture* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 18-19.

[21]Although a variety of cultural approaches are gaining currency, most studies in journalism history work from behaviorist, functionalist, or idealist perspectives, explicitly or not. See Hanno Hardt, "Newsworkers, Technology, and Journalism History," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 7 (1990): 346-365. Of relevance to this study is the work of Raymond Williams — in particular *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977) — and of the Bakhtin Circle and commentaries upon it, especially Mikhail Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, ed. Michael Holquist, transl. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), V.N. Voloshinov, *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*, transl. Ladislav Matejka and I.R. Titunik (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986), and Michael Gardiner, *The Dialogics of Critique; M.M. Bakhtin and the Theory of Ideology* (London: Routledge, 1992).

[22]Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, 187-188.

[23]Ibid., 166.

[24]Ibid.

[25]Ibid., 165.

[26]Consistent with the notion that communication simply reflects reality, Gregory cites traditional structural-functional, Parsonian sources for his conceptions of culture and ethnicity. See Gregory, *American Exodus*, 304, fn 30.

[27]Most edited collections are a result of this preference. An example is "*Yours for the Revolution": The Appeal to Reason, 1895-1922* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), which is a valuable collection of essays, but not of alternative forms. Of course, collections of labor songs of the 1930s exist, such as Alan Lomax, ed., *Hard-Hitting Songs for Hard-Hit People* (New York: Oak Publications, 1967), but they await their Eric Foner and their version of Foner's work *American Labor Songs of the Nineteenth Century* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975), and they are generally not addressed as part of a scholarly exploration into working-class consciousness. A landmark study that takes this view is E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Vintage, 1966).

[28]odd Gitlin makes a similar point when addressing the cultural role of rock-and-roll music in the student movements of the 1960s. See Gitlin, *The Sixties; Years of Hope, Days of Rage* (New York: Bantam, 1987), esp. 195-221.

[29]Gabriel Kolko, *Main Currents in Modern American History* (New York: Harper and Row, 1976; reprint, New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), 147.

[30]Standard works include David Brundage, *The Making of Western Labor Radicalism: Denver's Organized Workers, 1878-1905* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994); Melvyn Dubofsky, *We Shall Be All; A History of the Industrial Workers of the World* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969); and

Philip Foner, *The Industrial Workers of the World, 1905-1917* (New York: International Publishers, 1965). Cultural investigations include Stewart Bird, Dan Georgakas, and Deborah Shaffer, *Solidarity Forever: An Oral History of the IWW* (Chicago: Lake View Press, 1985), and Salvatore Salerno, *Red November, Black November: Culture and Community in the Industrial Workers of the World* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989). Of particular relevance to the topic of this study are such sources as *Songs of the Workers: On the Road, in the Jungles and in the Shops* (Spokane: The Industrial Worker, [191-?]) and *The Complete Joe Hill Song Book* (Stockholm: Prisma/FIBs Lyrikklubb, 1969).

[31]Majka and Majka, *Farm Workers*, 74, 85; and Vicki L. Ruiz, *Cannery Women, Cannery Lives; Mexican Women, Unionization, and the California Food Processing Industry, 1930-1950* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987).

[32]*Bitter Harvest;* 258-261, 273-281.

[33]McWilliams, *Factories*; Paul S. Taylor and Tom Vasey, "Historical Background of California Farm Labor," *Rural Sociology* 1 (June 1936), 281-295; Paul S. Taylor and Tom Vasey, "Contemporary Background of California Farm Labor," *Rural Sociology* 1 (December 1936), 401, 404; Alan L. Olmstead and Paul Rhode, "An Overview of California Agricultural Mechanization, 1870-1930," *Agricultural History* 62 (Summer 1988), 86-112.

[34]McWilliams, *Factories*.

[35]Jamieson, *Labor Unionism,* Daniel, *Bitter Harvest*; Majka and Majka, *Farm Workers*.

[36]Sidney Baldwin, *Poverty and Politics; The Rise and Decline of the Farm Security Administration* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968).

[37]Klehr points out that, despite the important alliance of Comintern with the CIO during the 1930s, its role could hardly be described as dominant or even unproblematic. See Harvey Klehr, *The Heyday of American Communism; The Depression Decade* (New York: Basic Books, 1984), 136-146, 223-251. See also Harvey A. Levenstein, *Communism, Anti-Communism, and the CIO* (Westport: Greenwood, 1981.)

[38]Majka and Majka, *Farmworkers*, 128-129.

[39]James L. McCamy, *Government Publicity; Its Practice in Federal Administration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939).

[40]Elliott Shore, *Talkin' Socialism: J.A. Wayland and the Role of the Press in American Radicalism, 1890-1912* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1988), 94-114.

[41]Hamilton, "Educating Patriots"; Stein, "New Deal Experiment."

[42]Eric Thomsen, "Why Plan Security for the Migratory Laborer?" (paper presented to the California Conference of Social Work, San Jose, 12 May 1937), National Agricultural Library, Bethesda, Maryland. The global case is summarized in Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes* (New York: Pantheon, 1994), 85-108.

[43]Stein, "New Deal Experiment"; Hamilton, "Educating Patriots."

[44]Baldwin, *Poverty and Politics*.

[45]Stein, "New Deal Experiment," 133; McWilliams, *Factories*, 294-300.

[46]The overall situation (from a reformer's point of view) is described in McWilliams, *Factories*, 152-211.

[47]By 1938, the economy was sluggishly recovering from a recession, and by 1939 Congress was moving aggressively to dismantle the New Deal. See William E. Leuchtenberg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal 1932-1940* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), 265-272.

[48]"Camp to Have a Weekly Paper" *Weedpatch Cultivator*, 2 September 1938, 1. "Weed Patch" was the name of the camp when it was under state management.

[49]*Weedpatch Cultivator*, 2 September 1938, 1. Direct quotations from the newspaper are quoted or referred to insofar as they exemplify the use of specific forms. They are reproduced verbatim, except in cases were minimal clarification in punctuation or spelling is needed.

[50]Ibid.

[51]Ibid.; Katherine Dietz, "Some Worthwhile Things a Council Can Do," File 934, "[Jan. 1940-May 1940]"; General Correspondence, FSA.

[52]Jerome Wilcox to Frederick Soule, 12 April 1940, file 163-01, "Genl [Jan. to June 1940] [1]," General Correspondence, FSA.

[53]Charles Todd, "The 'Okies" Search for a Lost Frontier," *The New York Times Magazine*, 27 August 1939: 10-11, 17; Frederick Soule to John Fischer, 2 August 1939, File 160, "Public Relations, General, Jan. 1939-Dec. 1939," General Correspondence, FSA.

[54]R.L. Adams, "Agricultural Labor Requirements and Supply, Kern County," (Berkeley: Giannini Foundation of Agricultural Economics, 1940), 6; Irving Bernstein, *Turbulent Years: A History of the American Worker, 1933-1941* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1969) 144; Frederick Soule to Jerome Wilcox, 19 October 1939, file RF-CF-25-160, "Arvin; Public relations," Arvin Camp Records; Fred W. Ross to Frederick Soule, 29 September 1939, file RF-CF-25-160, "Arvin; Public relations," Arvin Camp Records.

[55]Majka and Majka, *Farm Workers*, 111, 127-129; Weber, *Dark Sweat*, 164-165.

[56]Ibid. Examples of privately held sentiments suppressed publicly include Collins' refusal to review McWilliams' book *Factories in the Field*. See Thomas Collins to L.W. Harvison, 15 September 1939, file 160, "Public Relations, General, Jan. 1939-Dec. 1939," General Correspondence. Unofficially, however, *Factories in the Field* and *The Grapes of Wrath* were highly regarded by the FSA. See Frederick Soule to John Fischer, 2 August 1939; and John Fischer to Frederick Soule, 1 June 1939, 8 August 1939, and 8 September 1939, File 160, "Public Relations, General, Jan. 1939-Dec. 1939," General Correspondence.

[57]Frederick Soule to Jerome Wilcox, 4 December 1939, File 163-01, "Newspapers and magazines, article and press releases, Jan. 1939-Dec. 1939," General Correspondence.

[58]Walter Stein, *California and the Dust Bowl Migration* (Wesport: Greenwood Press, 1973), 252. Birkhimer and his family had been in California for three years, and he had started a chapter of the Workers' Alliance at Camp Indio in 1938. "Wage Hearing is Held," untitled letter, *Towsack Tattler*, 29 September 1939, 4; "This and That," *Towsack Tattler*, 6 October 1939, 9.

[59]Sam Birkhimer, "Our Strike," *Towsack Tattler*, 28 October 1939, 4-5; Birkhimer, "Our Strike," 17 November 1939, 5.

[60]Gregory, *American Exodus*, 141-142.

[61]Weber, *Dark Sweat*, 137-151.

[62]Ibid., 150-154.

[63]James Bright Wilson, "Social Attitudes of Certain Migratory Agricultural Workers in Kern County, California" (M.A. thesis, University of Southern California, 1942).

[64]Ibid., 277.

[65]"Shafter-Wasco potatoe [*sic*] district, Kern Co. 5-6/36"; folder "History of AFL Agricultural Unions"; carton 6, "FSA"; Simon J. Lubin Society Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[66]Wilson, "Social Attitudes," 322-343.

[67]Guthrie uttered this phrase often. One place it appeared in the camp paper was in untitled, *Tow-Sack Tattler*, 28 October 1939, 3.

[68]Majka and Majka, *Farm Workers*, 130-132; Sheila Goldring Manes, "Depression Pioneers: The Conclusion of an American Odyssey; Oklahoma to California, 1930-1950, A Reinterpretation," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1982), 3; and Wilson, "Social Attitudes."

[69]Wilson, "Social Attitudes," 332-333; John Diggins, *The Rise and Fall of the American Left* (New York: Norton, 1992), 173-174; Levenstein, *Communism*, 36.

[70]"Be What You Is," *Weed Patch Cultivator*, 11 November 1938, 1. This poem appeared widely in other migrant labor camp newspapers. See Gregory, *American Exodus*, 152.

[71]"Leave It In Jesus's Hand," *Weed Patch Cultivator*, 12 May 1939, 2. Early in the camp's existence, manager Tom Collins also commented in a weekly report on the religious core of migrant fatalism: "The campers 'Trust in the Lord.' That is good of course, [. . .] However we cannot encourage them to become dependent with the hope that the ravens will feed them or that Jonah will come along with his whale and swallow all their troubles." See Thomas Collins, "Kern Migratory Labor Camp, Report for week ending March 7, 1936," 7; file RF CF 26 918-01, "Arvin [Report] [March 1936]"; Arvin Camp Records.

[72]"To Them This May Concern," *Weed Patch Cultivator*, 21 October 1938, 1.

[73]"'A Grumbler'," *Weed Patch Cultivator*, 11 November 1938, 2.

[74]"Prize for Best Poem or Idea," *Tow-Sack Tattler*, 24 August 1939, 1.

[75]"'Wandering'," *Weed Patch Cultivator*, 21 October 1938, 2.

[76]Untitled, *Weed Patch Cultivator*, 21 October 1938, 2. Another example is "What Do They Say!," *Weed Patch Cultivator*, 25 November 1938, 2. The religious nature of migrant culture is noted in depth by Wilson, "Social Attitudes," 359-375, and summarily by Gregory, *American Exodus*, 150. Such items appeared most often during major Christian holidays. For examples, see "'Bible Reading'," *Weed Patch Cultivator*, 30 December 1938, 2; "Bible reading for the week:- Acts-20-19 to 21," *Weed Patch Cultivator*, 27 January 1939, 3; and "Bible Reading of the Week," *Weed Patch Cultivator*, 3 February 1939, 3.

[77]"Here Goes don't Git in a Hurry and Stracks Back," *Tow-Sack Tattler*, 6 October 1939, 4.

[78]Untitled, *Tow-Sack Tattler*, 6 October 1939, 4.

[79]Untitled, *Tow-Sack Tattler*, 20 October 1939, 3. Woody Guthrie, who noted that he had "made the Arvin Camp lots of times with the old trusty guitar, and listened to the Campers sing in their churches and at their dances, and pie suppers and speakins," later set this verse to music. In a published collection of songs in which it was included, Guthrie mentioned hearing "a little fourteen year old boy's poem called 'I'd Ruther To Die on My Feet than Live on My Knees . . .' Can you beat that? No, you can't. It leapt out of this boy's mind like a young mountain lion, and the road was lined with cops in their big black sedans, laughing, grunting, and talking, and a listening to jazz music on their radios." The 14-year-old boy — George Tapp — also authored the cited poem. See Lomax, *Hard Hitting Songs*, 225.

[80]"Join the Union," *Tow-Sack Tattler*, 28 October 1939, 16; "'Greenback Dollar' (streamlined)," *Tow-Sack Tattler*, 11 November 1939, 4.

[81]It was signed "composed by Bill Kindle, Omah Colo and Ruby Rains." See "Associated Farmer Has a Farm," *Tow-Sack Tattler*, 17 November 1939, 7. It was Guthrie's tactic as well to "take old folk songs or tunes and write new words to them and to rework the melody when necessary." See Guy Logsdon, introduction to *Woody Sez*, by Woody Guthrie (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1975), xiv.

[82]Untitled, *Tow-Sack Tattler*, 11 November 1939, 10. As Guthrie was an accomplished illustrator in the homey style of this illustration, it is likely that Guthrie drew it and signed it. At least one notice appeared of an impending visit of Guthrie and Hollywood actor Will Geer to the Arvin Camp. See "Woody and Gear [*sic*] to Entertain," *Tow-Sack Tattler*, 22 September 1939, 2.

[83]"Weekly Letter from the Editor," *Tow-Sack Tattler*, 6 October 1939, 2; "Weekly Letter from the Editor," *Tow-Sack Tattler*, 13 October 1939, 4.

[84]"Editor's Weekly Letter," *Tow-Sack Tattler*, 20 October 1939, 2.

[85]"Cotton Fever," *Tow-Sack Tattler*, 24 August 1939, 5. Cotton was weighed and pickers were paid by "hundredweight" — 100 pounds of picked cotton. The common price for a hundredweight was 75 cents, hence the "six bits." The "tow-sack" of the newspaper's title is the fabric bag dragged by the picker in which picked cotton was placed prior to dumping it out to get paid.

[86]For example, see "Pea Picking Blues," 8 September 1939, 1; and "Just Around the Corner," *Tow-Sack Tattler*, 29 September 1939, 3.

[87]"Only the Kept Press," *Tow-Sack Tattler*, 8 September 1939, 3.

[88]Levenstein, *Communism* (68) notes that Lewis lent little support to the UCAPAWA. In January 1938, he stopped CIO aid.

[89]Bert Cochran, *Labor and Communism; The Conflict that Shaped American Unions* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), 143-144. An able overview is Anthony J. Badger, *The New Deal; The Depression Years, 1933-1940* (New York: Noonday, 1989), 286-290; Ruiz, *Cannery Women*, 55; Daniel, *Bitter Harvest*, 281.

[90]Baldwin, *Poverty and Politics*, 325-331. The FSA's stance toward its programs can be labeled one of "careful liberalism" — meaning advocating change, but without antagonizing and putting into danger its increasingly scarce Congressional support. The source of the phrase (and a brief overview of the administrative milieu of the FSA) is Nicholas Alfred Natanson, "Politics, Culture and the FSA Black Image" (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1988), 100.

[91]Jamieson, *Labor Unionism*.

1998 Presidential Address

The Historiographical Tradition in 20th Century America

By James D. Startt

Editor's Note: This President's Address was delivered on October 22, 1998 at the annual convention of the American Journalism Historians Association in Louisville, Kentucky.

Reports of the death of history, to paraphrase Mark Twain are greatly exaggerated.[1] Evidence to the contrary is overwhelming. Consider the public reaction to the Smithsonian's exhibit on the *Enola Gay* and the end of World War II, or to the recent report of the National Council for History Standards.[2] In fact, we encounter proof that history lives every day. The Constitution says this, or our Founding Fathers believed that, or moving farther back in time, Rome fell because of this. How often have we heard such statements? Or how often have we heard Mr. Everyman say, "History proves that. . . ." As Gerda Lerner comments: "All human beings are practicing historians."[3]

There is, of course, no reason to think that ordinary references to history are always wrong nor that references by scholars are always correct. Nevertheless, myths about the past and history, invented for purposes either innocent or ill, seem to acquire a reality of their own. Misconceptions about the past abound, and knowledge about it is far from complete. Considering the vastness of human experience, it could not be otherwise, but that is no reason to think that one version of history is as good as another. The state of present knowledge about the past and adherence to the standards that assure each generation the opportunity of knowing it make the difference. Historiography, used here to mean the practice and principles of history, is about making that difference.[4]

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What Constitutes the Practice of History?

As historians we think seriously about history more than most people do, but not more than we should. The same is true of historiography, for few people pause to consider all that constitutes the practice of history. That alone is an involved topic, but by restricting it to mean the practice and principles associated with the practice of history, we reduce it to manageable dimensions. Moreover, that limited meaning makes it difficult to refute the claim that historians are "almost always historiographers."[5] Of course we are, since we are aware of how we function in our work.

In fact, we work at the current edge of an old historiographical tradition with modern roots in this country going back to the late 19th century and perhaps earlier. Since it influences our conscious effort to engage our subject, consideration of that tradition is always pertinent for historians. Where to start? Colonial Americans wrote a number of histories, but they were mostly of the "saintly" or promotional variety. The idea of mission that flourished in those histories would not be lost on a later generation of American writers. Nevertheless, the modern historiographical tradition had its origin elsewhere.

Historiography's Roots in Greece

It has roots traceable to ancient Greece. They reach back to Herodotus and his famous history, *The Persian Wars*, which he wrote to preserve "the remembrance of what men have done."[6] In modern times, Renaissance and Enlightenment scholars broke the hold religion had gained over history in subsequent centuries and put into place elements that would endure in its modern shape. We find, for instance, an Enlightenment historian like David Hume beginning his famous *History of England* with the promise that he would disregard "fables" and concentrate on those parts of history that can be "well ascertained."[7] Hume's great contemporary, Edward Gibbon, concurred with that sentiment and declared in his *Autobiography* that "Truth—naked, unblushing truth" must be "the first virtue of . . . serious history."[8] Gibbon's monumental *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, one of the greatest historical works in the English language, took him 20 years to research and write, and it proves that the Age of Reason, which he personified, was also an age of elegant style. His great work explored how institutions change over time, included multiple causation, and offered interpretation.[9] Consequently,

by the 19th century, an historiographical tradition began to acquire some of the elements of shape familiar to us—focus on the object, the separation of history from philosophy, religion and fable, the search for truth about the past, the presentation of history as a time conditioned inquiry, and history as an interpretative but documented subject.

The European influence on the writing of American history has continued to this day, and it was present in the 19th century, "The Golden Age of History."[10] American history flourished during the "Golden Age," and while not discounting the European influence, it manifested a genius of its own. Historians like George Bancroft and Francis Parkman elevated history in this country to unprecedented levels. These romantic-nationalist, patrician historians allowed current concepts about nation and national mission to frame their historical consciousness, and their works had powerful appeal. They reflected rigorous research and skilled literary artistry and have lasting appeal, but were they objective? Toward the end of the century, a new group of historians gained ascendancy and answered that question with a resounding "No."

Introducing Scientific History

These historians rejected the specious, dramatic history of their patrician predecessors in favor of a more scientific explanation of the past. Writing at a time when industry and urbanization were transforming the nation and when the country was rising as a young power in the community of states, these scholars sought to make history one of the growing number of professionalizing inquiries. Moreover, the great expansion of education at that time, especially in colleges and graduate schools, afforded them the opportunity to do so. Like so much else at the time, education acquired the prefix "new," and "new" meant scientific. To be modern was to be scientific, and in education this impulse extended into non scientific areas.

The new, "professional" or scientific historians, in contrast to the "amateurs" of previous generations, found in the expanding graduate schools an opportunity to devote themselves to full-time teaching and writing, and under the banner of science they guided history into a more narrow, in-depth, record and archive based enterprise. They introduced the graduate seminar in history; in 1884 they inaugurated the American Historical Association; in 1895, the *American Historical Review.*[11] Influenced by a number of European historians such as Henry Thomas Buckle, Jacob Burckhardt, and mainly Leopold von Ranke, they became preoccupied with objectivity, preferred dealing with institutions rather than

individuals, and chose to write specific monographs rather than the sweeping historical narratives of the Parkman type.

The scientific historians thought of their work in contrast to that of the older (or "old-fashioned") writers. Now historians examined a wide variety of original sources in which they attempted to separate truthful from questionable evidence. They claimed to march in step with the "scientific and realistic spirit of the age in which" they lived.[12] In their works, a progressive national theme can be detected, and with the passing of years their scope became somewhat wider than later critics would acknowledge.[13] It should also be noted that some of the historians who wrote major works at the end of the century (e. g., James Ford Rhodes and Theodore Roosevelt) cannot be considered members of the professional guild. It is, indeed, easy to exaggerate when discussing any school of historians and the history written at the time it flourished. The same can be said of Ranke, whom the early scientific historians so admired. Latter day historians have often portrayed him in too narrow terms. His greatest works were much broader than they allowed.

Regardless, having established history as an autonomous academic field, the scientific historians discovered that they could not agree about the identity that history should have. Some preferred to identify themselves as social scientists and to pursue a focused and presentist study of "the State at rest" and "the State in action."[14] They formed the American Political Science Association in 1904. Others, though a minority, resisted departure but considered themselves social scientists within history's ranks with a mission to ally history to the social sciences.[15] James Harvey Robinson was their vanguard. In 1912, he published *The New History* in which he argued that historians should approach the past in a selective way that would allow it to serve the present, that rather than concentrating on political events they should broaden the scope of their inquiries, and that they should "utilize the tools and concepts of the social scientists."[16] Like their more conservative associates, they did not question the scientific base of history, nor did they think that the incompleteness and relativity of the historical record made history less than scientific. In fact, it had only been scientific if the word "science" was softened.

Scientific history was more of a common sense, realistic approach to the past, and at a time when libraries and archives were growing, it was based on comprehensively gathered and examined material. As one of its founders put it, history was "truth about Conditions and Causes under which and because of any person, institution, custom, or what-you-please originated, developed, attained maturity, decayed. . . ."[17] Once the

New Historians tried to depart from the quasi-scientific persuasions of their elders, they were in trouble. Searching for specific laws, for scientific uniformities, in history, they pushed the claims of scientific history too far. Moreover, the contradiction between probing for history's regularities while subordinating the past to the present confused their cause.[18]

The New History Stresses Relativism

Their plight worsened as the relativist persuasion of Carl Becker gained credence. Already in 1910 he began to turn his skepticism on the foundation of scientific history and later made it the subject of his well-known 1931 Presidential Address to the American Historical Association (AHA), "Everyman His Own Historian."[19] The cultural disillusionment following World War I, confusions emanating from the Great Depression, and the misuse of science practiced in Nazi Germany, called into question confidence in scientific approaches to history, and stimulated interest in a more relativist probing of the past.

Even the powerful spokesman of progressive history, Charles Beard, came to bemoan the cause of the scientific history he had once championed. Now he insisted that the Rankean historical method was bankrupt. "Slowly it dawns" upon the practitioners of that method, he said, that "the human mind and the method employed were not competent to the appointed task . . . that if all human affairs were reduced to law . . . a chief end of the quest, that is, human control over human occurrences and actions, would itself become meaningless. Should mankind discover the law of its total historical unfolding, then it would be imprisoned in its own fate . . ."[20]

Nevertheless, the New History, with its stress on relativism, present-mindedness, and on discovering the deeper forces that caused political and social change, did enliven the debate about the shape of history. It also distorted that debate. Objectivity versus subjectivity, the real past versus the presentist past, and other such parings of opposites exaggerate positions. All such terms rest on definition; few of the historians Beard attacked had the positivist views of history that he suggested.

Controversy May Be Overstated

In retrospect, it is easy to overstate the place of controversies about the methodology of the New History in shaping the practice of history in this country during the first half of the 20th century. First of all, there is

the term the New History to question. Its origins can be found among historians writing before Robinson, and it might be more accurate to label most of his renowned contemporaries "progressive historians." Among them were scholars like Frederick Jackson Turner, Charles A. Beard, and Vernon Louis Parrington who did for the historiographical tradition, as Richard Hofstadter argued, what the muckrakers did for journalism.[21] In the case of history, however, their progressive spirit remained predominant. The retreat from idealism and the widespread materialism of the 1920s and the great economic travail of the 1930s encouraged the reformist bent of their writing until the eve of World War II.

Ironically, at the very time that the progressives' fondness for stressing economic and political conflict in history became increasingly unrealistic, it was Beard who demonstrated the limits of relativism by his intemperate attacks on the Roosevelt administration, his failure to understand that Hitlerian aggression in Europe was a concern of the United States, and by his severe defense of isolationism. Thus, the New History and progressive history, if a separation of terms is preferred, ground to a halt with the return of world war. Some historians, moreover, never did fit well into either category. Allan Nevins, for example, the classic case of a journalist becoming an historian, emerged as a leading figure among historians in the 1930s and wrote about business and political leaders in an appreciative way uncommon to the progressive writers.

There are other historiographical developments of this half century that deserve recognition. There is the obvious expanding of the scope of American history to acknowledge. During this 50 year period, for instance, political, diplomatic, and economic history flourished and gained broader definition while fields like intellectual, social, and labor history experienced significant growth. Important work contributed to the growing maturity of black history and women's history. Biographies were numerous and popular. New scholarship stimulated interest in fields like journalism history.[22] Did the work of the great systematizers of history like Oswald Spengler and Arnold Toynbee, which gained influence in Europe after World War I, have a transatlantic impact? No. They may have attracted interest, but most American historians resisted the determinism and reductionism implicit in those grand theories.

The case of the influence of Marxism was different due to economic conditions that begged for explanation and to the progressive historians' fondness for economic and conflict interpretations. Marxism did have some influence, mostly indirect and not in its complete form. Some

American scholars used parts of his theories in their interpretations and responded to his emphasis on economics. But they shied away from his dialectic materialism and the timeless, universal, and revolutionary contentions of full-blown Marxism. As Carl Becker put it, "I have no faith in the infallibility of any man, or any group of men, or of the doctrines or dogmas of any man or group of men, except in so far as they can stand the test of free criticism and analysis."[23] Even Charles Beard, renowned for his *Economic Interpretation of the Constitution*, denied that his work was based on Marx.[24] The great portion of the expanding American history occurred with the help of orthodox methodology.

Journalists Expand the Public Appeal of History

Another development apparent by 1950 deserving of attention was the fate of the historical narrative. Although the great narrative historians wrote until the end of the 19th century, their style of writing failed to last in the 20th. The early scientific historians, moreover, had a dulling effect on history as literature. Already in 1912, Theodore Roosevelt addressed this trend in his 1912 AHA Presidential Address. He deplored the way science was deadening history and stated that the great appeal of a work of history was "as a masterpiece of literature."[25] While it is fair to say that a pedantic trend had appeared and would continue in historical writing, some of the leaders of the discipline resisted it. Without trying to emulate the Bancrofts and Parkmans, they insisted that good literary quality be a standard of historical literature. Thomas A. Bailey, Samuel Eliot Morison, Allan Nevins, the young Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., Walter Prescott Webb, and C. Vann Woodward were among the historians writing at this time who exemplified that idea.

Moreover, after World War I, a new audience of "middlebrow" readers who appreciated nonfiction emerged. This afforded historians a wonderful opportunity to widen their outreach. Some did, but it was journalists who led in responding to this opportunity. Their production of history and biography in the decades after World War I was remarkable. The name Carl Sandburg, of course, comes to mind, for his biography of Lincoln is a modern classic. Among others were: Frederick Lewis Allen, Claude Bowers, Wilbur J. Cash, Douglas Southall Freeman, Marquis James, Walter Millis, George Fort Milton, and Henry Pringle. They all wrote outstanding history or biography while holding responsible positions in journalism—a tribute to their industry and to their passion for history.[26]

It is apparent that by mid-century history had acquired its modern 20th century shape. Having assumed a secure place in academe, it also appealed to a wide public audience. World War I may have been the formative event of the century and did stimulate interest in history, but World War II popularized it far more. Curiosity about that war and its causes, the country's assumption of greater international responsibilities, and the opening of the cold war helped history to resonate among the informed public. As college enrollments surged thanks to postwar prosperity and the GI Bill, the size and number of history classes mounted. Their place in college curricula reflected their acquired shape. Except as a matter of convenience, they were listed neither as humanities nor social sciences.

Practice proved that history was more method than science, more interpretative than theory, more inductive than deductive in its reasoning, and more factual than creative in its narration—though it enjoyed kinship with all of these opposites.[27] If historians now questioned the belief in progress of their 19th century predecessors, they remained optimistic in their writing. And, in the spirit of Edward Gibbon, they still believed in truth as a guide and object of history. "No person without an inherent loyalty to truth, a high degree of intellectual honesty, and a sense of balance, can be a great or even a good historian. Truth about the past is the essence of history and historical biography. . . ," Samuel Eliot Morison told the American Historical Association in 1950.[28]

Consensus History Emerges

All considered, history's place in American society and culture appeared settled and secure in the postwar years. Its content, moreover, seemed to reflect the current mood of the country as its prewar progressive spirit waned. The belief grew among historians that progressive history with its prevailing theme of internal conflict had ill-prepared the nation to grasp the significance of the totalitarian movements of the 1920s and 1930s. The belief that the present needed a different historical grounding led Samuel Eliot Morison to declare: "The age of 'debunking' has passed, . . . a new generation both here and in Europe is sounding and elucidating national and sectional traditions. But much harm was done, and little good."[29] Although a liberal historian himself, Morison claimed that balance should be a hallmark of history, that the liberal interpretation had too long guided history, and that the country now needed a "sanely conservative" but not "nostalgic" writing of history.[30]

Perhaps ideas do have a history of their own and pass out of fashion; perhaps the prewar progressives' association with isolationism discredited their cause; perhaps the idea of national unity needed to be stressed as the cold war continued; perhaps after all they had experienced in the last 20 years, Americans needed to rediscover past traditions suggesting unity, continuity, and consensus rather than discord. Thus there occurred an historiographical turn toward a more positive view of the past, personified by historians like Daniel Boorstin and Clinton Rossiter. It had been prefigured earlier.[31] Of course, no single idea represents historical thought of any time no more than a single idea expresses the thought of any decade or generation, but a conservative or "consensus" view of history ascended to redirect its basic shape. That ascendancy would be challenged.

Consensus history fit the first period of postwar American life, from 1945 into the early 1950s, but it encountered stormy times during the ensuing years. Between the mid 1950s and the mid 1970s, new forces emerged to challenge and divide the national mood that consensus history reflected.[32] A spirit of reform with a rebellious edge grew and became more radical as the 1960s proceeded. If the cold war was the central international event for Americans at that time, the civil rights movement was its domestic equivalent. It occupied a pivotal position in the nation's thought and action, and as it struck against segregation, it vitalized or revitalized other reform movements. By the end of the 1960s a strong women's liberation movement appeared that would soon produce dramatic social changes. Peace, poverty and the environment all became targets of reform and often inspired protest demonstrations. As the Vietnam conflict escalated, politics became more confrontational and a "counterculture" youth movement that attacked many traditional values gathered momentum.

New Left Historians Emphasize Conflict

Much of the temperament of the '60s appeared in the practice of history as it did in other disciplines. Between the early years of the century when the New History appeared with its progressive thrust until World War II, discord and insurgency had been a major part of the nation's history, but the post World War II consensus historians deemphasized it. Now a group of New Left historians emerged who wanted to restore themes of conflict, struggle, and exploitation to American history. These historians, William Appleman Williams, Walter La

Feber, Staughton Lynd and others, probed into diplomatic as well as domestic history, and in some cases they searched for a usable, radical past to serve as a political weapon against present maladjustments of society.

Never a homogeneous group, the New Left declined as a group in time, but their passion and spirit can be detected in later causes historians championed. Unlike historians who promoted other causes, most of the New Left historians remained traditional in terms of methodology. Historians involved in black history and especially women's history were more willing to experiment with new techniques and approaches to history. While the expanding social interests associated with the '60s broadened the scope of history, the sequence of new approaches emerging threatened to change its character.

Judging from the number of fields of history that acquired the adjective "new" to their name, a wave of newness appeared to be sweeping through the contours of the inquiry. In part, this can be explained by the nature of the generational feeling widespread among the youth of that time, and in part it can be seen as a response to recent historical events. Already in 1953, Hannah Arendt went so far as to pronounce that history was unable to provide understanding of the then present evil of totalitarianism since it was a world movement without precedent that exposed to ruin traditional "categories of thought and standards of judgment."[33] Although extreme, her statement captured the turn of mind a number of historians were experiencing.[34]

Examining the "Precariousness of Human Effort"

In pursuit of new problems in history or new answers to old ones, many historians were attracted to new methodologies and approaches being advanced by other disciplines. Acceptance of these practices, however, was far from complete and would occasion debates among historians for the next several decades. Specifically, the debate turned on three sequential but overlapping developments: 1) certain practices gaining currency in the social sciences; 2) the expansion of the new social history; and 3) a composite development that I shall refer to, for lack of a better term, as "postmodernism."

Regarding the first item in the sequence, it should be pointed out that the question was not the old one regarding whether or not history was a social science. Long before it had been resolved by most historians that history was not a social science as such but rather a study that could

have much in common with social sciences.[35] The new social history might call that assumption into question, but at the start of the renewed debate regarding the social sciences attention was focused on particular practices. For example, as social scientists applied their techniques to human behavior and sought to perfect their understanding of specialized and often small units of research, they seemed to part company with historians, who, however specified their research might be, were expected to relate it to larger categories of knowledge. Consequently, the generalizations they reached were not as sharply defined as those of the social scientists.

Richard Hofstadter explained the difference in this way. As the historian moves beyond the small units of his research to engage the larger questions of the past, he "confronts the precariousness of human effort, sees the passing not only of great states and powerful institutions but of militant faiths and, most pertinent for him, of the very historical perspectives that were identified with them. At this point he is persuaded to accept the imaginative as well as the cognitive side of his own work . . . and he realizes more fully than before how much history is akin to literature."[36] Many other historians continued to consider narrative a defining characteristic of history.[37]

In fact, orthodox historians questioned that a number of social science techniques, which had gained currency since World War II, had great applicability to history—"model building" for one, quantification for another. Moreover, devotees of these methods sometimes angered historians by referring to history as *only* a descriptive and impressionistic exercise. At times historians responded with little tact to such inferences. It was, for instance, the president of the AHA, Carl Bridenbaugh, who countered, "The finest historians will not be those who succumb to the dehumanizing methods of social sciences, whatever their uses and values, which I hasten to acknowledge. Nor will the historian worship at the shrine of the Bitchgoddess, **quantification**. History offers radically different values and methods."[38]

While other historians criticized claiming too much for quantification, they admitted that when carefully used it had a place in history.[39] After all, historians had counted for ages. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. probably struck the proper balance when he summed up the case of quantification in history in this manner. "As an humanist, I am bound to reply that almost all important questions are important precisely because they are *not* susceptible to quantitative answers. The humanist . . . does not deny

the value of the quantitative method. What he denies is that it can handle everything which the humanist must take into account; what he condemns is the assumption that things which quantitative methods can't handle don't matter."[40]

The Use of "Collective Mentalities"

The case of using psychological methods as tools of history requires more explanation. Already in 1958 William Langer in his AHA Presidential Address urged historians to use the concepts of modern psychology to perceive "collective mentaliries" related to historical inquiries. He used the psychological effects of a traumatic event, the Black Death, to make his point.[41] Langer, like Preserved Smith long before, also expressed an interest in psychoanalytical biography[42] That interest, in fact, had been growing for sometime, not surprising given the impact that Sigmund Freud has had on the thought of this century. When handled with care and kept within reasonable boundaries, it appeared to have much to offer.[43] Erik Erikson's contributions to the field stimulated even more interest in it. However, his *Young Man Luther* attracted some sharp criticism by historians as did a popular study of Woodrow Wilson by Sigmund Freud and William Bullitt.[44]

The skeptics worried that the psychoanalyzing of historical figures produced claims that could not be proven since these people were no longer alive and the possible cure that would prove the analysis was no longer possible. Some complained that appropriate evidence for such conclusions was missing, or that such evidence when found was not time conditioned. Others, like Jacques Barzun wondered if the process placed too much emphasis on "fixations," "deep attachments," and on characteristics of adulthood dredged up from speculations, or even facts about one's youth. Or, it might encourage an old historical error, allowing an event to define cause. "Chainsmoking," he reasoned, "may well express a regressive desire to suck the breast, but sucking the breast does not lead to lung cancer, and our hero's death has to be explained by chain-smoking."[45] More recently, as they discover more about the biological makeup of the brain and the relationship between a person's genetic history and human behavior, scientists are questioning the emphasis Freud placed on the irrational processes of individual thought.[46]

As for the broader, cultural implications of Freud's theories, they too occasioned skepticism among historians. Freud's claim, for instance, that private religion was obsessional neurosis and that religion itself was mass obsessional neurosis, was bound to disturb historians. It was as reduction-

istic as Marxism. If Marx traced human behavior to economic forces and considered the "personal" or "private" factor only as a manifestation of those forces, Freud traced it to psychological roots. In both cases, historians had reason to question the devaluation of culture, politics, and various social realities in such grand schemes.[47]

For a variety of reasons, then, orthodox historians were uneasy about the viability of certain social science methodologies for history unless they were properly qualified. Nevertheless, by the 1960s the old tension between history and the social sciences appeared to be waning. Orthodox historians often acknowledge that advances in the social sciences must be considered for their possible enhancement of historical accuracy and for their use in probing into undeveloped areas of the historical past.[48] The social sciences, moreover, were acquiring a renewed appreciation of historical perspective. The *rapprochement* had been long in coming but would prove illusory. A new challenge to historical orthodoxy was already mounting. Although quite diverse, the challenge can be appreciated by observing the rise of the new social history.

The Rise of the New Social History

As in the case of so many of the "new" histories that appeared in the 1960s and 1970s, the new social history had significant antecedents.[49] Major historians in the 19th and early 20th centuries had advanced the cause—especially J. R. Green and G. M. Trevelyan, two English historians who influenced their American counterparts, and John Back McMaster and Arthur Schlesinger, Sr. in this country. It was Trevelyan who described this brand of history as "the history of a people with politics left out."[50]

Moreover, the New History that James Harvey Robinson and Charles A Beard championed two generations before had a social component. Social history, however, only became a separate field in the 1950s.[51] The rising interest of historians in quantification and other current social science methodologies provided the tools that, in many cases, would be needed to explore various subjects of this "new" inquiry. It is also worth remembering that it was cast against the backdrop of one of the momentous transformations of modern centuries, the decolonization of Africa and Asia, the corresponding successful national movements in those areas, and the relative reduction of Western Europe's political world position.

An even more immediate context for this new history can be found in the temper of the '60s noted previously in relation to the growth of the New Left. The spirit of tension and rebelliousness associated with that

decade and its attachment to anti-institutional causes reverberated among groups of other historians who, as a result both of their frustration and idealism, became dissatisfied with many aspects of the social and intellectual order, including consensus history. They rejected its portrayal of unity in history when so many people were omitted from consideration. They questioned the habit of understanding politics through the study of political elites when grassroots movements like the civil rights movement, the feminist movement, and the antiwar protest of their time were proving the contrary.

Transatlantic influences also inspired the new social history. A renewed interest in Marxism was part of this inspiration as was the work of some distinguished British and French contemporary historians. Among the British were several scholars who had been attracted to Marxism (e. g., Christopher Hill, Eric Hobsbawn, and E. P. Thompson), whose reputation among American intellectuals was great.

The influence of the *Annales* school of historians in France may have been even greater.[52] According to Fernand Braudel, whose efforts to spread the influence of the school far beyond France cannot be overstated, *Annales* historians rejected specialized history and sought a "science of history" that would keep the entire social spectrum and all levels of consciousness within its domain."[53] No wonder its influence was inspiring. Furthermore, in the hands of a Braudel, with his interest in geography, demography, and economics, the new history could even be an expansive exploration of entire societies, empires, and civilizations. It was exciting. However, he had few imitators among American historians.

The new social history again illustrates the risks involved in efforts to define historical schools or labels. In some respects, however, references to it as "history from below" and as "populist history" are helpful, because they make the distinction between this history and "history from above" or "elitist" history. Whereas orthodox history stressed political, diplomatic, and military studies, focused on events, and was narrative in style, the "new" history moved away from the political to embrace every field of human activity and contended that reality was a social and cultural phenomenon. Instead of great ideas, it explored collective mentalities, and in terms of style tended towards the analytical rather than the narrative.[54]

The new social historians studied topics usually absent in mainstream historical writing—topics such as: illiteracy, ethnicity, gender, criminality, sexuality, overlooked protest movements, and the family. They insisted that the historical experience of women be taken seriously,

that previously overlooked people who were "disinherited from American heritage" be accorded their due place in history, that ethnic groups be recognized in the American past, and that the lives of ordinary people be brought into the fabric of history.[55] Historians writing black history and the history of women, fields that were rapidly changing at the time, were drawn to the openness as well as to the current social science techniques of the new social history.[56] "Without the growing sophistication of contemporary social history," one of the new women historians explained, "the history of the New Women's History could not be written."[57]

The achievement of the new social history in its heyday was considerable. It helped to democratize history, to explore hitherto overlooked private sectors of the past, to explore social conflicts, and more. Some of our foremost contemporary historians (e. g., David Hackett Fischer and Eugene Genovese) produced major works writing in this genre. Yet, while it still retains a position in historiography and has its devotees, uncertainty can be detected in its ranks and its sometimes implied or even expressed intent to replace orthodox history has given way to a search for more ways to interact with the mainstream of history.[58] There are several explanations for its present status.

Devaluing "Traditional" History

First of all, at the peak of the field's popularity in the 1970s, some of its practitioners made excessive claims about its potential and displayed irritating, short-sighted arrogance in the manner in which they advanced their cause. Social history was superior history, the only really meaningful history, the only one that dealt with "deeper realities" and could, therefore, be comprehensive. Older history was devalued as "archaic," "narrative" (implying a lack of analysis), or "failed sociology," or as "traditional."[59] The last term is a curious code word to use in a disparaging way in reference to historians! Such charges appeared ill-fitted to reality since they were made at a time when Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Soviet Union were fresh in memory and when China was reeling under the direction of Chairman Mao. It could be argued that World War II, an historical-military event, shaped attitudes alive in the then present cold war. Moreover, despite the enthusiasm associated with the new social history, political history persisted—even in France, the home of the *Annales* school. That school, in fact, has experienced fragmentation and introspective doubts.[60] The same can be said of the "new" history in this country.

Indeed, as numerous historians have commented, fragmentation became a basic problem for the new social history. Given the proliferation of its subfields and their bent towards over-specialized focus, their use of narrow quantification analysis, their propensity for theorizing, and their use of problem solving techniques of the social sciences, fragmentation was unavoidable. "Most of the new social historians," Alice Kessler-Harris observes, "have chosen to elaborate the microcosm [of particular aspects of history] in the hope that their own tiny contribution to the jigsaw puzzle will ultimately help to construct a new interpretation of our past."[61] A fine hope, but it has not been realized except in particular cases. There were too many pieces with edges that did not match, and some pieces were not entirely part of the puzzle.

It can be argued, for instance, that while women's history has expanded social history, that many new social historians have ignored questions germane to women's history.[62] Unlike numerous other subfields of social history, women's history intercepts with general history at so many points that it might well qualify as a field of its own rather than as a subfield of social history. Moreover, compared to the abundance of quantitative sources available for the related subfield of family history, those available for the study of women's history are inadequate. Practitioners of women's history, therefore, turned to and found literary evidence to inform their research.[63] In many respects, the same can be said of black history. A rich array of traditional historical sources beyond statistics exist for it. Should subfields such as these really be subfields or, contrary to the centrifical drift of some of the other categories of social history, do they have a natural connection with the historical mainstream in terms of both content and methodology?

Equally troublesome for the subfields of the rubric was their deliberate disassociation with the political content characteristic of orthodox historiography. Thus the subfields tended toward a particularism that resisted assimilation with larger historical patterns, not only with their universalist norm that, notwithstanding its shortcomings, had shaped American history but also with their encompassing interpretations of political persuasion, polity, and power. In the spirited language of Eugene Genovese and Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, writing already in 1976, "as admirable as much of the recent social history has been and as valuable as much of the description of the life of the lower classes may eventually prove, the subject as a whole is steadily sinking into a neoantiquarian swamp. . . ."[64] Writing from a Marxist perception, they were lamenting the lack of class confrontation in current social history, but their comment addresses a central problem of the rubric.

It might even be acknowledged that in their sometimes overemotional reaction to the new history that its public critics made some viable arguments. They protested that the new history neglected important, especially political, aspects of the American past. Where was the national narrative? Was proper attention given to "the individual" or to the progressive force (or hope) that previously had been a part of our history?[65] The new social history had, in fact, placed the "group" over the individual and did not manifest much of the old progressive spirit. By stressing "history from the bottom up" it appeared to overlook the salient fact, that much of history and indeed much of life in its social-political setting, is influenced from the top down. As Leon Trotsky once said, "While you may not be interested in the State, the State is interested in you."[66]

The fragmentation and inwardness found in the new social history are clues that take us to the edge of the third source of debate among contemporary historians—that associated with the ill-defined term, "postmodernism." As various historians point out, postmodernism is "a notoriously slippery label."[67] Indeed it is. Is it synonymous with structuralism (if structuralism is taken to mean semiology), with post-structuralism, or with deconstruction? Is it the same as "the new historicism" or "the new cultural history?" Is it postmodernity (e. g., modern life) or post-modernism (e.g., a movement in the arts and architecture)? Some authorities on postmodernism claim it defies precise definition. It appears at least as a case of what Winston Churchill once referred to as "terminological inexactitude."[68]

Nevertheless, postmodernism represents a critique of the historiographical tradition, one that has occasioned emphatic responses from historians. The roots of this critique reach back at least to the 19th century philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche and have grown amid those 20th century forces manifesting cultural disillusionment alluded to earlier.[69] Once again the influence of transatlantic thought was of major consequence, most notably that of Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida. Their reputation in this country spread after the Vietnam War, with the waning of the cold war, and with the rise of the multicultural questioning of the norms of national identity, which at times became associated with political action.[70]

Notwithstanding the complexity of their theories, certain elements in them are striking. Foucault saw discontinuity rather than continuity in

history, rejected the idea that knowledge grew through time, and targeted submerged communities and marginalized groups rather than larger ones like the state to study. He was concerned with the heterogeneity of life and with the techniques of power that he detected in it. Contrary to the humanist idea of the individual as a rational being, he claimed that the mind was not free, that it was controlled by the structure of language. Regarding Derrida, he advanced a "deconstructionist" approach to language in which a "text" has endless meanings, none of which explains what the author meant.[71] As a form of literary criticism, deconstruction overturned the traditional value attached to literature, but its influence extended to other studies as well. In history it represented a "linguistic turn" that was hardly what the orthodox champions of historical narrative expected.

Postmodernist theories strike at the core of history. Its extreme cultural relativism negates history's pursuit of objective truth, the validity of historical evidence, and the idea of discovering reality beyond discourse. They deny that the historical narrative describes an actual past.[72] Hayden White, an advocate of these theories, claims that historical narratives are as much "*invented* as *found*," that they are "verbal fictions."[73] Although much is left unsaid in this brief introduction of postmodernism as it relates to history, and while it is only fair to mention that postmodernists are not all of one mind, the challenge the movement poses for history is unmistakable. With its extreme references to the presentist meaning of texts and with its dismissal of historical truth, as well as historical causation, context, and continuity, it appears to be incompatible with the historiographical tradition.[74]

Is Elvis Dead?

While some social and some feminist historians have found postmodernist theories congenial to their inquiries, the bulk of practicing historians reject them, indeed, with greater vigor than they used in references to other departures from orthodoxy. Joyce Appleby, G. R. Elton, and Lawrence Stone are among the better known historians whose criticism could be cited.[75] One example, offered by the preeminent Eric Hobsbawn, will have to suffice. He argues that historians are duty-bound to oppose "the rise of 'postmodernist' intellectual fashions . . . which imply that all 'facts' claiming objective existence are simply intellectual constructions—in short, that there is no clear difference between fact and fiction. . . . There is . . . for instance, even for the most militantly anti-positivist ones among us, the ability to distinguish between the two.

. . . We cannot invent our facts. Either Elvis Presley is dead or he isn't."[76]

That the postmodernist thrust challenges the historiographical tradition at its core, is hard to deny. Unlike other challenges covered in these comments, if its extreme claims are taken seriously, they would repudiate history as it is known.[77] With some exception, its influence, which was never widespread among most practicing historians, appears to be waning.[78] This does not mean that the historiographical tradition can expect to proceed unfettered in the future. As we have seen, at every turn in the unfolding of the tradition, problems appeared, and no doubt that will continue to be the case.

Since the 1950s, there has been the problem of "sprawl" of content, and the practices of historians since then have intensified it. Until the 1960s, there was a coherence or a unity (sometimes referred to as grand narrative) in American history. That has passed and historians are at present discussing the impact this has on the perceived significance of history.[79] The recent popularity of "microhistory" only worsens the problem. Regardless, the search for some type of new larger framework proceeds. It is worth noting that throughout the century the narrative element never disappeared from the historiographical tradition; in fact, it remained quite alive and retains the potential for broadening the scope of that tradition. How far, no one can say at this time.

Historians Reflect Their "Climate of Opinion"

As it stands, however, the historiographical tradition reveals a great deal about historians and the study of history. Historians, for instance, do reflect what Carl Becker labeled "the climate of opinion" of their time in their writing. They have demonstrated a willingness to experiment with new methodologies and principles in their work, and the substance of history has benefited from that experimentation. With their emphasis on the scientific pursuit of history, however qualified that term needs to be, the late 19th century historians made history a major subject in American education, saved it from romantic flights from reality, and provided incentive for historians to exploit the great expansion of the sources, particularly the archival sources, of knowledge of their time.

The progressive historians broadened the inquiry and restored spirit and vision to it. Consensus historians distanced history from the crusading impulses of the 1930s and sought to address the needs of a generation seeking, in the words of J. Rogers Hollingsworth, to understand "the

uniqueness and essence" of America.[80] For all of their radicalism, New Left historians redirected historical inquiry to the quite real conflict in the American past that consensus historians had deemphasized. New social historians and historians working in the fields of black history and women's history have corrected many older ideas about race, gender, age, and much more. As a result of their efforts, we are considerably more aware of cultural diversity in our past. Even in the case of postmodernist historians, it can be argued that they will sharpen the practices of verification and credibility in historical criticism and will lead historians toward a deeper examination of their rhetoric and their interaction with their subject. Consequently, it is apparent that in their practice of history, 20th century historians have enriched the historiographical tradition.

They also shaped that tradition by their resistance to various approaches to history. For instance, they have treated applying theory to history with caution. I find it interesting that Herbert Butterfield, whose *The Whig Interpretation of History* has influenced historians to this day, liked to compare his preferred historical methodology to the methods that Sherlock Holmes employed.[81] How often we discover Holmes telling the good Dr. Watson, "It is a capital mistake to theorize before you have all the evidence. It biases the judgment."[82] More than to theory, however, historians have been adverse to reductionism and determinism, notwithstanding the presence of some notable Marxists in their ranks. They have also been cautious in their association with the social sciences. Although some historians prefer that label, most do not. History's relationship with the social sciences, in the main, has been of an almost-but-not-quite type and can be described best as symbiotic. It appears, moreover, to proceed through time in a cyclical fashion.

Providing An "Index to the Mind"

At its core, the historiographical tradition is a moderate and open one that resists extreme positions in terms of either content or methodology. If the goal of complete objectivity that historians once pursued now seems unreachable, that of plausibility does not. Belief in it, in fact, leads historians to reject the idea that texts have no relation to reality in favor of the idea that through a critical examination of source materials, historical reality can be reconstructed. It is moderate, too, in the manner in which it establishes causal relationships, in the inferences it draws from evidence, and in the restraints it places on presentist persuasions. Its broadening of content shows it is far from being iconoclastic while the appeal it has to a

great variety of scholars illustrates its openness. At universities today, scholars practicing history can be found in various academic departments. Furthermore, it is only necessary to recall Barbara Tuchman's many excellent books to know that independent historians continue to produce outstanding works. That fact not only attests to the great appeal of history as an exploration of the human past but also to the viability of the narrative component of the historiographical tradition.

Finally, it can be seen that the historiographical tradition is capable of engaging us in a personal way. What is there in the practice and principles of history that fascinate you the most? Perhaps it is the sense of discovery; perhaps, the satisfaction of carefully exploring a human problem. Perhaps it is, as John Hope Franklin believes, knowing that history pursued honestly can provide people the basis for making sound judgments.[83] Perhaps its fascination is due to Gerda Lerner's simple observation, "history matters" in "life and thought."[84] The question is worth our best attention, and it is one that elicits an individual response.

In my own case, the narrative element in history has particular appeal. Veronica Wedgwood once reflected that the style of narration is "an index to the mind."[85] Quite right. In expressing history, we give form and structure to our particular subjects. The art of narration tests our capacity to be honest in dealing with the men and women who enter our stories, and it forces us, as much as possible, to discern the difference between objectivity and subjectivity, between opinion and bias. In constructing narrative, we know that history must argue from evidence, but we know, too, that such evidence must be, to our best knowledge, truthful. Composing an historical narrative vitalizes self-awareness; it leads us to look into and beyond ourselves. It forces considerations of the full range of conditions that shaped past life. In short, creating historical narrative encourages the search for truth—past and present.

Endnotes

[1]The idea of a dead past was popularized by the British historian, J. L. Plumb who actually wrote about the past as it was conceived for centuries before our time. See his *The Death of the Past* (1969; reprint, Harmondsworth, Eng: Macmillan & Co., Penguin Books) 1969. Also, in 1989 Francis Fukuyama's article announcing history's end received widespread attention. With the end of the cold war, he argued, "we may be witnessing . . . the end of history as such: that is, the end point of mankind's ideological evolution and the universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government." What would replace it? He found it plausible to reason "that there is some larger process at work, a process that gives coherence and order to the daily headlines, "The

End of History?" In *A Look at "The End of History?"* ed. Kenneth M. Jensen (Washington, D. C.: United States Institute of Peace, 1990): 1-2. First published in *National Interest* 9 (summer 1989): 3-18. Fukuyama's thesis, through which runs a suggestive if democratized Hegelian dialectical reasoning, appears to be disproven by events in the 1990s. See also Georg G. Iggers, "The 'Linguistic Turn': The End of History as a Scholarly Discipline," in *Historiography in the Twentieth Century: From Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge* (Hanover, N. H.: Wesleyan University Press, 1993), 118-33.

[2]Gary B. Nash, Charlotte Crabtree, and Ross E. Dunn, *History on Trial: Culture Wars and the Teaching of the Past* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997), 188-258.

[3]Gerda Lerner, *Why History Matters: Life and Thought* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 199.

[4]Historiography can also mean the writing of history, topical interpretation in history, philosophical approaches to history, or the whole body of historical literature.

[5]Bert James Lowenberg, *American History in American Thought: Christopher Columbus to Henry Adams* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972), 11.

[6]Herodotus, *The Persian Wars*, The Modern Library (1942), 3. Although it is sometimes claimed that the origins of history should be located either with the ancient Hebrews or perhaps with the even more ancient Sumarians, I believe it should be placed with the Greeks. The modern historical tradition includes critical thought not just thought about the past. Hebrew history (i. e., the Old Testament) contains too much uncriticized content, too many things like the creation story for which no evidence is provided, and repeatedly refers to God or God's will as explanation for cause or motivation. This is not to say that verifiable data cannot be found in the Old Testament nor that it failed to offer vision that many future historians would adopt. The point is discussed in Peter Gay and Gerald J. Cavanaugh, eds., *Historians at Work*, 4 vols. (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1972-75), 1: XV. As for the Sumerians, they wrote no history as we think of it in its modern form, but they did begin the gathering of historical materials and the production of records to be kept—mainly for religious or political purposes. (Samuel Noah Kramer, *The Sumerians: Their History, Culture and Character* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963], 33-39).

[7]David Hume, *The History of England*, vol. 1 (1754; reprint, Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1776), 25-6.

[8]*The Autobiography of Edward Gibbon*, ed. Dero A. Saunders (1794; reprint, New York: Meridian Books, 1967), 27.

[9]Peter Gay and Victor G. Wexler, eds. *Historians at Work*, 4 vols. (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), 2: 353.

[10]In the course of this essay, the influence of European historians on American scholars will be apparent. This influence was never more obvious than in the nineteenth century when German philosophers and historians (e. g., Johann G. Fichte, Arnold Heeren, G. W. F. Hegel, Johann G. Herder, and Immanuel Kant) affected American romantic and national historians like John L. Morley, Francis Parkman and especially George Bancroft. Later in the century, Leopold von Ranke's influence on historical scholarship in this country would become legend. Meanwhile, English historians like Thomas Babington Macaulay, Thomas Carlyle, Henry Thomas Buckle, and J. R. Green and French historians like Jules Michelet and Alex de Tocqueville exerted a transatlantic influence. Though a nineteenth century figure, Karl Marx's influence was mainly of consequence after the turn of the century. He did, however, have an impact on a few nineteenth century American historians like Henry Adams.

[11]Herbert Baxter Adams was the real founder or the American Historical Association and was its secretary for its first 16 years. As director of historical studies at Johns Hopkins, his Seminary in Historical and Political Science introduced German seminary practices of fact-finding in original sources and rigorous textual analysis. One of his assistants was John Franklin Jameson, who would become an outstanding early "professional" historian, and among his early students were Woodrow Wilson and Albert Shaw, the future editor of the American *Review of Reviews* from 1891-1937. The term "amateurs" refers to the well-educated but nonprofessional historians who wrote in the early and mid nineteenth century and who worked at some other professions or livelihood (e. g., as clergymen, lawyers, physicians, journalists). The term "professional historians" is not entirely satisfactory since it implies that those historians who were not in their academic ranks were a lesser breed of historians. It is, however, a commonly used designation for this group. Also, I have chosen not to use the term "historicism" in reference to this group. Although it is sometimes used to identify them, it has acquired too many meanings and has lost whatever precision it may have had.

[12]John Fiske, *Essays Historical and Literary*, 2 vols. (1902; reprint, New York: Macmillan Company, 1925), 2: 6 and 16.

[13]Consider, for instance, Albert Bushnell Hart's American Nation Series, published in 26 individually authored volumes between 1904 and 1906. The volumes were divided into five groups: Group I, "Foundations of the Nation;" Group II, "Transformation Into a Nation;" Group III, "Development of the Nation;" Group IV, "Trial of Nationality;" and Group V, "National Expansion." In the first volume this definition of history appears. "The purpose of the historian is to tell what has been done and, quite as much, what has been purposed by thinking, working, and producing people who make public opinion. . . . This is not intended to be simply a political or constitutional history: it must include their social life, and their schools. It must include their economic life, occupations, labor systems, and organizations of capital. . . ." True history, Hart continued, must include "dramatic episodes" that "inspired the imagination of contemporaries, and stir the blood of their descendants." And, regarding the "condensed" citations, they represented a "constant reference to authorities, a salutary check on the writer; and a safeguard to the reader." The Scientific school was pushing out its borders: Albert Bushnell Hart, ed., Edward Potts Cheyney, *European Background of American History: 1300-1600* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1904), XVII-XVIII.

[14]Frank J. Goodnow, "The Work of the American Political Science Association," *Proceedings of the American Political Science Association* 1 (1905): 37. See also, Albert Shaw, "Presidential Address," *The American Political Science Review* 1 (Feb. 1907): 184.

[15]John Higham, Leonard Krieger, and Felix Gilbert, *History* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J: 1965), 110-113.

[16]James Harvey Robinson, *The New History* (1912; reprint, New York: The Free Press, 1965), XV.

[17]Quoted in Dorothy Ross, "On the Misunderstanding of Ranke and the Origins of the Historical Profession in America," *Syracuse Scholar* 9 (1988): 38.

[18]Higham, Krieger, and Gilbert, *History*, 111 and 116.

[19]Carl Becker, "Everyman his own Historian," *American Historical Review* 37 (Jan. 1932): 221-36.

[20]Quoted in Henry Steele Commager, *The American Mind: An Interpretation of American Thought and Character Since the 1880s* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), 308.

[21]Richard Hofstadter, *The Progressive Historians: Turner, Beard, Parrington* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968), XII.

[22]Exemplifying the rich variety in historical writing in these years was the work of Howard K. Beale (Political history), Thomas A Bailey (diplomatic history), Charles Beard (economic history), Perry Miller and Vernon Louis Parrington (intellectual history), John R. Commons (labor history), W. E. B. Dubois and Carter Woodson (black history), Mary Beard (women's history), and Lucy Salmon and William Bleyer (journalism history).

[23]Quoted in Harvey Wish, *The American Historian: A Social-Intellectual History of the Writing of the American Past* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960), 313.

[24]Charles A. Beard, "That Noble Dream," *American Historical Review* 41 (1935): 85. Regarding Marx's limited influences on American historians at this time, see Oscar Handlin, *Truth in History* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1979), 70 and 73.

[25]Higham, Krieger, and Gilbert, *History*, 104-5.

[26]Ibid., 73-77.

[27]The elements of the practice of history are apparent in the standard works on historical method in use at that time. See, for example, Louis Gottschalk, *Understanding History: A Primer on Historical Method* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950), and Joseph R. Strayer, ed., *The Interpretation of History* (1943; reprint, New York: Peter Smith, 1950).

[28]Harvey Wish, ed., *American Historians: A Selection* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), 380.

[29]Ibid., 391.

[30]Ibid., 393.

[31]See, for example, Henry Osborn Taylor, "Continuities In History," *American Historical Review* 44 (Oct. 1938): 1-19.

[32]William H. Chafe, "America Since 1945," in *The New American History*, ed. Eric Foner (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990), 144-46.

[33]Hannah Arendt, "Understanding and Politics," *Partisan Review* 20 (July-Aug. 1953): 388 and 380-94. Considering the rich historical accounts about the background and rise of Nazism published since she made this statement, it appears she was mistaken.

[34]See, for example, C. Vann Woodward, "The Age of Reinterpretation," *American Historical Review* 46 (Oct. 1960): 1-2, and H. Stuart Hughes, "The Historian and the Social Scientist," in *Generalizations in Historical Writing*, eds. Alexander V. Riasanovsky and Barnes Riznik (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963), 20-21.

[35]See, for example, representative historiographic studies such as Gottschalk, *Understanding History*, 33-37, Allan Nevins, *The Gateway to History*, rev. ed. (Garden City,

N. Y: Doubleday & Company, Anchor Books, 1962), 332-35; and Page Smith, *The Historian and History* (1960; reprint, New York: Random House, Vintage Books, 1966), 136-37.

[36]Richard Hofstadter, "History and Social Science," in *The Varieties of History: From Voltaire to the Present*, ed. Fritz Stern (Cleveland: World Publishing Company, Meridian Books, 1956), 371.

[37]See, for example, Catherine Drinker Bowen, "Biography, History, and the Writing of Books," and Allan Nevins "The Old History and the New," *The Art of History* (Washington: The Library of Congress, 1967), 15-19, and 29; Gabriel Jackson, *Historian's Quest* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969), 25; and Louis O. Mink, "Narrative Form as a Cognitive Instrument," in *The Writing of History: Literary Form and Historical Understanding*, eds. Robert H. Canary and Henry Kozicki (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978), 129-49.

[38]Carl Bridenbaugh, "The Great Mutation," *American Historical Review* 68 (Jan. 1963), 326. Bridenbaugh was criticized for the anti-Jewish implications of some of his other comments in this address. See, Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The 'Objectivity Question' and the American Historical Profession* (1988; reprint, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 339. For a critique of quantification see, Eugene Genovese and Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, "The Political Crisis of Social History: A Marxian Perspective," *Journal of Social History* 10 (Winter 1976): 210-11. In this article the authors speak of the "disastrously short-lived cliometric revolution." Indeed, by 1976, the rush to quantification had passed its peak.

[39]See, for example, Handlin, *Truth in History*, 223-26; Paul K. Conkin and Roland N. Stromberg, *The Heritage and Challenge of History* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1971), 111-12; Hughes, "The Historian and the Social Scientist," 42; and Jerome M. Clubb and Howard Allen, "Computers and Historical Studies," *Journal of American History* 54 (Dec. 1967): 599-607.

[40]Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., "The Humanist Looks at Empirical Social Research," *American Sociological Review* 27 (Dec. 1962): 770.

[41]William L. Langer, "The Next Assignment," *American Historical Review* 63 (Jan. 1958): 290-95.

[42]In 1913 Preserved Smith published an article, "Luther's Early Development," in which he attempted a psychoanalytical study of Martin Luther, whom he considered a "highly neurotic personality. Jacques Barzun, *Clio and the Doctors: Psycho-History, Quanto-History and History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 7.

[43]Higham, Krieger, and Gilbert, *History*, 228-32.

[44]Erik H. Erikson, *Young Man Luther: A Study in Psychoanalysis and History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1958), and Sigmund Freud and William Bullitt, *Thomas Woodrow Wilson: Twenty-Eighth President of the United States, A Psychological Study* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1967). Both of these books are seriously flawed, and both received abundant response from historians. See, for example, Roland Bainton, "Psychiatry and History: An Examination of Erikson's *Young Man Luther*," in *Psychohistory and Religion: The Case of "Young Man Luther,"* ed. Roger A. Johnson (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977), 19-56; and Barbara Tuchman, "Can History Use Freud? The Case of Woodrow Wilson," *The Atlantic Monthly*, February 1967, pp. 39-44.

[45]Barzun, *Clio and the Doctor*. 72-73.

[46]Edward O. Wilson, *Consilience: The Unity of Knowledge* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998), 254-297.

[47]Philp Rieff, "Psychoanalysis," in *American History and the Social Sciences*, ed. Edward N. Saveth (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), 112 and 118-19.

[48]Higham, Krieger, and Gilbert, *History*, 139. See also, Edward N. Saveth, "The Conceptualization of American History," in *American History and the Social Sciences*, 3-24; Thomas C. Cochran, "The Social Sciences and the Problem of Historical Synthesis," in Pendleton Herring, ed., *The Social*

Sciences in Historical Study, Bulletin 64 (New York: Social Science, Research Council, 1954, 157-71; and Hughes, "The Historian and the Social Scientist," 18-59.

[49]I decided to pursue the new social history rather than any of the other "new" histories because it was the most comprehensive of the lot, and because it was trying to replace political history as the mainstream of history. For the same reason, I chose to pursue it rather than black history or the history of women.

[50]Gertrude Himmelfarb, *The New History and the Old: Critical Essays and Reappraisals* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, The Belknap Press, 1982), 15.

[51]Two of the landmark books in the new social history, Peter Laslett's, *The World We Have Lost* and Lawrence Stone's *The Crisis in Aristocracy* were published in 1965. Also, Peter N. Stearns began publication of the *Journal of Social History* in 1967. There was an unmistakable attitude among social historians at this time that their history was different from social history as it was previously written. Sometimes they referred to the latter, rather unfairly, as "pots and pans" history or in some other belittling way. They did, of course, recognize the individual prestigious historians like Marc Block who preceded them.

[52]The *Annales* school is the historical writing associated with the publication of the journal, *Les Annales: Economics, sociétés, civilisations.* Marc Block and Lucien Febvre founded the journal with a slightly different title in 1929. The editors dropped the reference to economics in the title in the 1950s and focused exclusively on the social element. The *Annales* approach rejected the centrality of politics in history as it did narrative history and progress in history. These historians were interested in structuralism and drew from Karl Marx's study of economic forces in history and from Emile Durkheim's work on collective behavior. Fernand Braudel, the editor of the journal from 1956-1972, claimed the real founder of the school was Henri Barr, a French intellectual whose work can be traced back to 1890. See, Fernand Braudel, "Personal Testimony," *Journal of Modern History* 44 (June 1972): 454-5.

[53]Ibid., 462, and Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, 2 vols., 3d ed., trans. Siân Reynolds (1946; reprint, New York: Harper & Row, 1972). In his monumental study, Braudel covers geography, economics, empires, societies, war, and events, politics and people—in that order. It is interesting to note, that in Part Three, when he turns to discussing events, politics and people, he opens with this observation: "It [this section] has strong affinities with frankly traditional historiography. Leopold von Ranke, if he were alive today, would find much that was familiar, both in subject matter and treatment, in the following pages." (Vol. 2: 901).

[54]Himmelfarb, *New History and the Old*, 14.

[55]Joyce Appleby, Lynn Hunt, and Margaret Jacob, *Telling the Truth about History* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1994), 154-55.

[56]John Hope Franklin, "The New Negro History," *The Journal of Negro History* 42 (April 1957): 89, and Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The New Woman and the New History," *Feminist Studies* 3 (Fall 1975): 185.

[57]Ibid., 188.

[58]Alice Kessler-Harris, "Social History," in Foner, *The New American History*, 178-9. John Higham observes, "The new social history produced a mighty outpouring of social description and analysis; but the gain in concreteness did not yield a greater coherence. An enormous fragmentation ensued. . . . Each network developed its own scholarly journal, its own energizing question, its own agenda. . . . Often these groups were entirely out of touch with one another; concepts that interested one set of scholars were rarely articulated with the problems that interested other sets. . . . Somehow social historians would have to find a subject . . . large enough to embrace . . . the confusing multiplicity of groups and identities standing before us. . . ." Higham, "From Process to Structure: Formulations of American Immigration History," in *American Immigrants and Their Generations: Studies and Commentaries on the Hansen Thesis after Fifty Years*, eds. Peter Kivisto and Dag Blanck (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 13. Peter Burke was even more explicit. ". . . There are some encouraging signs of *Rapprochement*, if not of synthesis. . . . It is now possible to observe a . . . search for the centre. . . . Most important of all, perhaps, the long-standing opposition between political and non-political historians is finally dissolving." Burke, "Overture: the New History," in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*," ed. Burke (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), 19. In 1996, Peter Stearns, one of the pioneers in the field wrote of the need for reconciliation with other branches of history. "Clio, a muse of balance and perspective, deserves the broader vision," he stated. "A Cease-fire for History?" *The History Teacher* 30 (Nov. 1996): 81.

[59]Social historians' disparaging comments about orthodox history were, in fact, quite common, as I recall. See also, Himmelfarb, *The New History and the Old*, 27; Joyce Appleby, "The Power of History," *American Historical Review* 103 (Feb. 1998): 6; Charles Tilly, *As Sociology Meets History* (New York: Academic Press, 1981), 5-6; and Lawrence Stone, *The Past and the Present* (Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981), 30.

[60]Lynn Hunt, "French History in the Last Twenty Years: The Rise and Fall of the *Annales* Paradigm," *Journal of Contemporary History* 21 (1986): 213-14, and Theodore Zeldin, "Social History and Total History," *Journal of Social History* 10 (Winter 1976): 240.

[61]Alice Kessler-Harris, "Social History," in Foner, *New American History*, 178.

[62]Carroll Smith-Rosenberg points out that "despite its [contemporary social history] emphasis on institutions and events of greatest concern to women, the New Social Historians, with few exceptions, have ignored women. . . . contemporary social historians have also ignored one of the most basic forms of human interaction—that between sexes." "The New Woman and the New History," 189.

[63]Carl N. Degler, "Women and the Family," in *The Past Before Us: Contemporary Historical Writing in the United States*, ed. Michael Kammen (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980), 310.

[64]Eugene Genovese and Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, "The Political Crisis of Social History," 214. Among the other one-time enthusiasts of the new social history who later lamented its failures are two of its founders, Lawrence Stone and Peter Stearns. See Stone's oft cited comments in *The Past and the Present*, 30-44, and Stearns "A Cease-fire for History?" 73-81.

[65]Nash, et al., *History on Trial*, 5, 16, 26, 76, 82.

[66]Quoted in, William E. Leuchtenburg, "The Pertinence of Political History: Reflections on the Significance of the State in America," *Journal of American History*, 73 (Dec. 1986): 600.

[67]Appleby, Hunt, and Jacob, *Telling the Truth about History*, 200.

[68]Churchill invented the term in 1906 when he rose in parliament to say that his own Liberal party's reference to "Chinese Slavery" (a reference to Chinese labor in South Africa) had been overstated. The term "slavery," he said, could apply to Unionist policy in South Africa only at the risk of "terminological inexactitude."

[69]Friedrich Nietzsche, *On the Advantage and Disadvantage of History for Life*, trans. Peter Preuss (1874; reprint, Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 1980), 21 and 35.

[70]Richard Rorty, "Deconstruction," in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, vol. 8, *From Formalism to Poststructuralism*, ed. Raman Selden (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 193-96.

[71]Ibid., 166-74; Christopher Falzon, *Foucault and Dialogue: Beyond Fragmentation* (London: Routledge, 1998), 36-46; Sidney Monas, "Introduction: Contemporary Historiography: Some Kicks in the Old Coffin," 3 and 5; and Georg G. Iggers, "Rationality and History," 35, in *Developments in Modern Historiography*, ed. Henry Kozicki (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993); and John M. Ellis, *Against Deconstruction* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1989), 52, 65-66, and 113-21.

[72]Appleby, Hunt and Jacob, *Telling the Truth about History*, 204, and Georg G. Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century*, 118.

[73]Hayden White, *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 82.

[74]Gerald N. Izenberg, "Text, Context, and Psychology in Intellectual History," in Kozicki, *Developments in Modern Historiography*, 41.

[75]Appleby, Hunt, Jacob, *Telling the Truth About History*, 197-237; G. R. Elton, *Return to Essentials: Some Reflections on the Present State of Historical Study* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 27-49; and Lawrence Stone," History and Post-Modernism," *Past and Present* (Aug. 1991): 217-18. See also, Keith Windschuttle, *The Killing of History: How Literary Critics and Social Theorists Are Murdering Our Past* (New York: The Free Press, 1996), 132-54.

[76]Eric Hobsbawn, *On History* (New York: The New Press, 1997), 6.

[77]Ibid. 195; Appleby, Hunt, and Jacob, *Telling the Truth About History*, 227 and 233; and Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century*, 100.

[78]Elton, *Return to Essentials*, 13, and Richard Rorty, "Deconstruction," 167, n. 2, and Bryan Palmer, "The Condition of the Poststructuralist Challenge to Political Meaning," *The Maryland Historian* 24 (Spring/Summer 1993): 67.

[79]Thomas Bender, "Wholes and Parts: The Need for Synthesis in American History," *American Historical Review* 73 (June 1986): 120-36; John Higham, "The Future of American History," *Journal of American History* 81 (March 1994): 1286-1307; Leuchtenburg, ibid., 73 (Dec. 1986): 585-600; and Georg G. Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century*, 141-44.

[80]J. Rogers Hollingsworth, "Commentary on 'Consensus and Continuity' in Post-War Historical Interpretation," in *The Historian and the Climate of Opinion*, ed. Robert Allen Skotheim (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1969), 95.

[81]Adam Watson, ed., *Herbert Butterfield: The Origins of History* (New York: Basic Books, 1981), 8.

[82]Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, *A Study in Scarlet* in *The Complete Sherlock Holmes*, ed. Christopher Morley (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Company, 1930), 27. Many such references can be found in the Sherlock Holmes stories.

[83]John Hope Franklin, "The Historian and Public Policy," in *The Vital Past: Writings on the Uses of History*, ed. Stephen Vaughn (Athens, GA.: University of Georgia Press, 1985), 359.

[84]Gerda Lerner, *Why History Matters*, title page.

[85]C. V. Wedgwood, *The Sense of the Past: Thirteen Studies in the Theory and Practice of History* (New York: Macmillan Company, Collier Books, 1967), 81.

Great Ideas

E. W. Scripps Papers Provide An Important Journalistic Window for Scholars

By Gerald J. Baldasty

The E.W. Scripps Papers at Ohio University in Athens, Ohio, provide an unusually detailed view of American journalism in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The manuscript letters in this collection cover key journalistic, business and political concerns in the first national newspaper chain, provide extensive information on day-to-day operations of newspapers and provide a window into the personality of one of the country's great press lords, E.W. Scripps (1854-1926).

This manuscript collection is extensive, constituting approximately 200,000 letters and documents (70 cubic feet in 187 boxes). Charles E. Scripps, grandson of E.W. Scripps, donated the papers to Ohio University's Alden Library in August 1988. After extensive processing, the collection was opened to the public in March 1990.

Scripps' career spanned a golden age of American journalism. In the 40 years straddling the turn of the century, the number of daily newspapers nearly trebled, and newspapers reached virtually every home in the country. Scripps pioneered the model of modern newspaper organization — the newspaper chain — demonstrating that a group of newspapers could operate more efficiently than individual newspapers.

During his career, Scripps established or purchased more than 40 newspapers, created a telegraph news service (United Press Associations), a news features syndicate (Newspaper Enterprise Association) and Science News Service. By the early 1900s, Scripps commanded the nation's

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Nackie Holsinger Scripps with her saddlehorse at Miramar, 1907 - 1910. [Miramar was the Scripps' home in San Diego County, California.] *E. W. Scripps Papers, Ohio University*

largest media company. He ranks with William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer as one of the great press lords of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

The Scripps papers at Ohio University provide an unusually detailed view of newspaper operations from Scripps' era. Scripps was an avid letter writer, so his thoughts and actions are well detailed. Moreover, he spent much of the 1890s and the early 1900s — key years for his chain — at his

California estate near San Diego. Because he was physically distant from his newspapers, letters to and from him dealt with virtually all aspects of newspaper operations. The reliance on letters was further underscored by his refusal to do business by telephone and his extreme reluctance to use telegrams. Most of Scripps' outgoing correspondence was saved in letterbooks; carbon copies were also made for distribution to the chain's Central Office (in Cincinnati) and to middle managers. Scripps' chief lieutenants and the chain's middle managers also circulated carbons of their letters to one another, thus improving the chance that key letters have been saved.

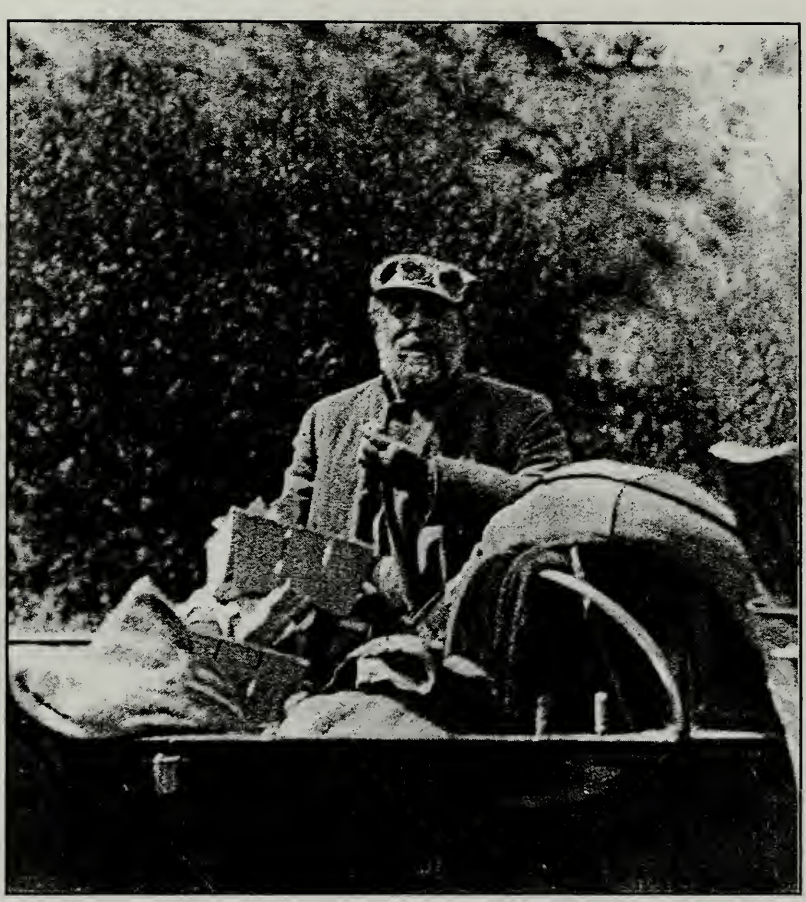
The Scripps papers are organized into four key categories:

- Letters written to E.W. Scripps (Series 1, subseries 1.1). There are 40 boxes in this section of the correspondence; letters cover the period 1876 to 1926 but are heavily weighted to 1889-1917.
- Letters written by E.W. Scripps (Series 1, subseries 1.2 and Series 2). There are 74 boxes in this section of the correspondence; the material draws primarily on the period from 1888 to 1917.
- Letters between other Scripps employees (Series 3, subseries 3.1, and 3.2). There are 36 boxes in this section of the correspondence; letters cover primarily the period from 1889 to 1919.
- Scripps' various writings, including his autobiography and his Disquisitions — which are a series of essays on journalism and a host of other subjects (Series 4). There are 12 boxes in this section of the correspondence.

The first three sections provide the most detailed information for journalism historians, providing information on each of Scripps' newspapers, his telegraph news service, his news features service (Newspaper Enterprise Association) and the Science News Service.

Letters to E.W. Scripps

This portion of the Scripps papers includes letters from a wide range of employees in the Scripps newspaper chain—from Scripps' chief lieutenants to individual editors and reporters. Among those writing to Scripps are the chain's treasurer (Lemuel T. Atwood); his letters often



E. W. Scripps takes time out for lunch on 1907 Grand Canyon trip. [Other photos state the trip was made during September & October.] *E. W. Scripps Papers, Ohio University*

provide extensive financial information about the various papers in the chain. Other correspondents include Robert F. Paine, the chain's editor-in-chief, and various regional managers (such as E.H. Wells and E.F. Chase in the Pacific Northwest, W.H. Porterfield in California and A.O. Andersson in Texas).

For journalism historians, these letters provide an excellent source on newspaper operations: costs for starting and running newspapers, circulation strategies and battles, general competition for news, relations (and problems) with advertisers, personnel issues, and so on. Scripps required monthly financial statements from his papers and some of these

are included in this part of the correspondence. His employees regularly informed him of other key developments at individual newspapers or in chain-wide institutions (such as the telegraph news services or the news features service).

For example, one letter—from the editor of Scripps' Seattle *Star* to Scripps—describes that paper's reliance on NEA and provides information about staff sizes for Seattle papers:

> Here in Seattle, it [NEA] is the greatest possible help in holding up and making progress. Without this exclusive service we would have to largely increase our editorial expenses, something that would be extremely difficult to do. Our contemporary the *Times* employs a very large force of competent men, including 13 of the best reporters that can be found, and spends money like water to get news near and far. Against this effort, we can put half as many reporters and the NEA. And we can win out with the NEA.[1]

Another letter to Scripps contained the mission statement of the Tacoma *Times*: "It shall be the first principle of this publication to be the organ, the mouthpiece, the apologist, the defender and the advocate of the working class."[2]

Scripps received letters from a host of others, too, including family members, political figures (such as Theodore Roosevelt, Robert LaFollette, Amos Pinchot, Woodrow Wilson and William Jennings Bryan), journalists (Lincoln Steffens) and scientists (William J. Ritter). Scripps gave strong and steady support to the Progressive movement and particularly to LaFollette and Wilson. Ritter developed the Scripps Marine Biology Institute (later called the Scripps Oceanographic Institute).

Letters from E.W. Scripps

Scripps was autocratic in personality, an advocate of "one man power" in running his chain. Consequently, letters from him are plain spoken and unequivocal; he demanded that his papers serve the working class and that they be profitable. He created strategies for building a newspaper chain and held forth on the state of the newspaper industry.

Business concerns—expansion of the chain, creation of the telegraph news services, cost controls, the role of advertising, etc.,—dominate his outgoing letters through 1908 (although political issues receive some attention). Scripps began his first retirement in 1908.

In 1904, Scripps outlined his view of journalism to the editor of his *San Francisco Daily News*: "Hook yourself tight and close the heart of the common people. Be always with them and of them."[3] Another letter reveals the business rationale behind Scripps' close attention to working class readers: "The wage earning class is by far the largest purchasing class of Los Angeles and however much the advertisers may respect the carriage trade and desire it, they are absolutely dependent upon the basket trade and dinner pail brigade for their prosperity."[4] On another occasion, Scripps outlined his bare-bones approach to newspaper operations to the business manager of one of his newspapers:

> The first thing you, as a young business manager, have to learn is how to save money. Demonstrate to the company that you have got that capacity first. Never buy anything today that you can put off until tomorrow or next year. Never add any expense for anything until you shall have felt the supreme necessity of such an expenditure for at least three months. Be a skin-flint in every other matter but circulation.[5]

Another letter outlines one of Scripps' chief rules—that newspapers demonstrate a 15 per cent cash profit. In 1899, he wrote to his partner Milton McRae, "You only had to do one thing, and that was to cut down your expenses to a point where they would reach 85 cents on a dollar received."[6] When one of his papers failed to make the required 15 per cent profit, Scripps wrote:

> It is useless to send me detailed figures showing why your expenses were increased or reduced. In a former letter, I have indicated to you my intention of requiring nothing much more of the Star management than to do decent, gentlemenly, business and make a reasonable profit. So long as you show a profit and have a clean paper, there will be mighty few kicks coming.[7]

After 1908, Scripps' letters deal more than before with political issues. His newspapers were heavily involved in promoting reform politicians in California (Hiram Johnson, Francis Heney) and in Washington state (Miles Poindexter) as well as on the national level (LaFollette and Wilson).

Letters Among Scripps Employees

Letters among the Scripps employees provide an excellent overview of upper and middle management as well as other aspects of day-to-day operations of the Scripps newspaper chain. Scripps' chief lieutenants provided extensive advice to the editors and business managers who ran the individual newspapers in the chain; in turn, those editors and managers reported extensively on their problems and successes to those above them in the corporate organization.

Minutes of the Editorial Advisory Board of the Scripps - McRae League in the 1890s provide extensive information on meetings of the Midwest Scripps papers' editors, plans on coverage of political conventions (in 1892, 1896) and news coverage in general. [8] Lemuel T. Atwood, the chain's treasurer, sent a compilation of financial records from Scripps' key Midwest papers (in Cleveland, Cincinnati and St. Louis) to the chain's attorney in 1901; the letter listed profits (or losses) for each paper since the early 1880s.[9] In another letter, the editor of Scripps' Tacoma *Times* outlined a newspaper crusade he was about to start:

City/copy desk of the *Cincinnati Post* in 1910. O. O. McIntyre (seated at the one o'clock position) was city editor and a famous New York columnist. *E. W. Scripps Papers, Ohio University*

> I expect to take up a "gas fight" here within a few days. The conditions are favorable—high priced gas. It was with a "gas fight" in Seattle that I first gained circulation for the *Star*. I believe our gains there, traceable to the gas campaign, which was successful, netted us some 4,000 additional circulation.[10]

The chain's attorney, Jacob Harper, advised one editor that libel suits could be very beneficial: "A libel suit, and particularly when it affects public affairs, is often the greatest opportunity presented to a newspaper. The *Cincinnati Penny Paper* was dragging along almost unknown in Cincinnati until criminal libel proceedings against its Editors were begun. A great jump in circulation followed those proceedings."[11]

Scripps' Autobiography and Disquisitions

The fourth section of the Scripps papers includes his Autobiography and Disquisitions. The Autobiography is a particularly strong source on the early years of his career, when he was working with family members in Detroit (at the *Evening News*) and as he moved on to the *Cleveland Press* and the *St. Louis Chronicle*. The Disquisitions (for which an index exists) reflect Scripps' thoughts on a wide variety of topics — from journalism to socialism and reform. [Oliver Knight's *I Protest: Selected Disquisitions of E.W. Scripps* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966) provides an excellent introduction to the *Disquisitions*.]

In his Autobiography, Scripps recalled the impact of the Detroit *Evening News*, which had been established by his older brother, James. This "formula" for news would provide the foundation for the Scripps newspaper chain:

> Rich rascals, rich men who were affected by petty meanness, so called respectable men in political offices who were doing wrong things, clergymen who had faults that unfitted them for church service or even decent society, professional men—doctors, lawyers and even judges on the bench—who had depended upon the cloak of their respectability, or position, to cover a misdeed, and many other citizens, soon found that, as far as the reporters of the *Evening News* were concerned, they were living in glass houses and that they had no means of protecting themselves from public exposure.[12]

The Ohio University Archives and Special Collections Department has begun to scan part of the Scripps Papers; on-line viewing of the correspondence will eventually be available. At least part of the collection will be searchable (key words, subject headings, date, collaborators, geographical area,) through OhioLINK's new multimedia database linked to the Ohio University Archives/E.W. Scripps website address <http:www.library.ohiou.edu/libinfo/depts/archives/mss/mss117.htm>; Ohio University's website <http:/www.ohiou.edu>; and Ohio University's on-line library catalog. The OhioLINK <http://ohiolink.edu/> central catalog is open to users everywhere through the Internet.

Check with Dr. George Bain, Head Archivist at Ohio University, for the status of this project or for any questions about the Scripps papers: Dr. George Bain, 504 Alden Library, Ohio University, Athens, OH. 45701-2978. Telephone: (740) 593-2710. FAX: (740) 593-0138. E-mail: gbain1@ohiou.edu.

A finding aid is available at the Ohio University Archives.

Endnotes

[1] E.H. Wells to E.W. Scripps, 1 February 1906, series 1, subseries 1.1, box 26, folder 6.

[2] E.H. Wells to E.W. Scripps, 1 July 1903, series 1, subseries 1.1, box 21, folder 4.

[3] E.W. Scripps to W.D. Wasson, 23 January 1904, series 1, subseries 1.2, box 5, folder 3.

[4] E.W. Scripps to J.C. Lee, 30 July 1902, series 1, subseries 1.2, box 5, folder 1.

[5] E.W. Scripps to Hyacinth Ford, 7 November 1906, series 1, subseries 1.2, box 8, folder 8.

[6] E.W. Scripps to Milton McRae, 13 March 1899, series 1, subseries 1.2, box 3, folder 11.

[7] E.W. Scripps to E.F. Chase, 12 January 1901, series 2, box 5, letterbook 7, 66.

[8] Minutes of the Editorial Advisory Board, Scripps McRae League, 30 July 1896, series 3, subseries 3.2, box 3, folder 3.

[9] L.T. Atwood to Jacob C. Harper, 22 April 1901, series 3, subseries 3.2, box 4, folder 9.

[10] E.H. Wells to L.T. Atwood, 22 December 1904, series 3, subseries 3.1, box 17, folder 7.

[11] J.C. Harper W.D. Wasson, 10 January 1907, series 3, subseries 3.1, box 23, folder 5.

[12] E.W. Scripps Autobiography, series 4, box 11, 177.

Book Reviews

As we open Volume 16 of American Journalism, *we find ourselves with a mixed bag of literature. If there is a common theme to these books (and sometimes we have to stretch to find it) there is an emphasis on the work of modernity. I point to Ted Garrard's review of one of the masters of the fund-raising business, a position that is taking on increasing importance and assuming increasing controversy in our universities and colleges today. The emergence of cash crises not only affect higher education, as James Mueller's review notes, but newspapers have been forced to combine some functions in common communities in order to survive.*

And of course, one cannot speak of modern situations and at the same time ignore the impact of telecommunications policy, which we note in this set of reviews. Lest one think, of course, that we are deviating from our historical mission, we have included a number of interesting volumes beginning with Kathy English's look at Harris and O'Malley's collection of reporting masterpieces. Frances Wilhoit reviews one of the newest in a collection of television encyclopedias. We are also taking a look at the social history of public relations and finally, the media in public life in a review by Michael Antecol.

✓ Editor's Choice

The Black Press: Soldiers Without Swords (Video)

California Newsreel, San Francisco, California, 1998.

It has not been our habit in the past to review video productions for the simple reason that very few of them deal with aspects of journalism history. The ones that do regularly find their way to the Public Broadcasting System receiving exposure that is far more universal than a scholarly journal can deliver. However, in this issue, the editor's choice is a recently released video by California Newsreel on the history of America's black press. And of course, before it arrived on my desk, it received a first viewing on PBS. Nonetheless, prior exposure does not invalidate comments in a journal devoted to scholarly publishing.

This hour-and-a-half study of the rise and fall of America's black press should be required viewing in classrooms across the nation. We can

thank the rise of social history and those who practice it for revealing the long kept secrets of those struggling journalists who were out of step with the dominant ideological forces of their times. Had these people not taken it upon themselves to study the impact of the African American press, the labor journals, the monetary reform papers and the gay and lesbian press to name just a few, students today would grow up "secure in the knowledge, deprived as it may be, that press barons such as Pulitzer, Hearst, Bennett and their ilk were the true journalistic heroes of a time gone by. *Soldiers Without Swords* gives us a brilliant, artistic and somewhat provocative look at a press that helped make America a different place for minority participation in the past century.

In many ways, the format of the program is predictable. It has been constructed in true Ken Burns style, thankfully without the dramatic cheerleading that infects Some of Burns' better works. It is a combination of vintage film, artistic re-creations and interviews with media historians such as AJHA members Jane Rhodes and Patrick Washburn. The story has style and a keen sense of drama. When I showed it to a class here at the University of Western Ontario who are not at all familiar with American media history, let alone African American history, the 85 minutes and 54 seconds passed without a murmur or whisper or a rattling of paper in the classroom. When one considers that we now live in a day and age when maintaining concentration through a 15 second commercial is a challenge, this is an accomplishment indeed. Yet during the entire film, subject matter is dealt with in depth; information is never sacrificed to style.

The main thesis of the program is that the African American press rose as part and parcel of a community attempting to legitimize its place in American society. Before the Civil War, the press concentrated on abolitionist issues. Following the war and throughout the period of Reconstruction and the reaction to it, the press continued the demand for full citizenship for its constituency. And, of course, in the 20th century, the question of civil rights began to dominate the front pages of the press known as *Soldiers Without Swords.*

The program closes with a sense of nostalgia bordering on sadness. The producers conclude that the black press began to wither and die because it was no longer living in a day and age when African Americans could be defined by their communities in a world of separateness. More and more African Americans were joining the media corporations, giving a second expression beyond that of the exclusiveness of the black press. One could certainly argue with this contention, while noting that large

black newspapers such as New York's *Amsterdam News* continue to publish because they do have a defined black community in America's largest city which extends beyond cultural issues to ones of geographical definition. Harlem may not be a legally defined community, but it is real in terms of its culture and its geography.

My only regret is that the program did not include journalist *cum* lawyer Mary Ann Shadd Cary. Considering that Professor Rhodes, who appeared on the program, has just written a substantial and qualitative study of this abolitionist who moved to Canada prior to the Civil War to establish the *Provincial Freeman*, it is an interesting omission. But perhaps I am assuming too much. *Soldiers Without Swords* is a project with considerable merit. It manages to bring together the many and diverse studies now lining library shelves which deal with the integration of the press and minorities striving to find a place in an often hostile and rigid environment. This film has made a major contribution to our understanding of this process. Let us hope the producers do not stop making such fine films.

>David R. Spencer, University of Western Ontario

Joint Operating Agreements: The Newspaper Preservation Act and Its Application

John C. Busterna and Robert G. Picard, Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1993. 171 pp.

The authors of this book did not set out to write a history of joint operating agreements, but their historical analysis of that facet of the newspaper industry may well be the true worth of the book. The authors, however, state in the preface to *Joint Operating Agreements: The Newspaper Preservation Act and its Application* that the book's "greatest practical value" may be in informing owners of competing newspapers that there is an alternative to the NPA. Busterna and Picard suggest that competing newspapers would be better off combining some operations before one of them qualifies as "failing" under the NPA. This solution is an interesting idea, yet it is really too late because there are so few competing daily newspapers.

The true worth of the book is in the authors' excellent historical critique of the Newspaper Preservation Act as an example of "public

policy gone awry." The book, which is readable despite dealing with a rather dry topic, includes a history of newspaper joint operations, a thorough analysis of the Citizen Publishing case that provided the genesis of the NPA and a review of the literature and theory on the topic. The book demonstrates that the NPA has not been effective in saving dying newspapers or saving weak newspapers that were in joint operating agreements before the act was passed. That previous sentence might seem confusing, but the authors' history of joint operations clears up a misconception that there were no joint operations before the NPA was passed in 1970. The book points out that joint newspaper operations go back to the 1930s, and that most cost-sharing measures that joint operating newspapers use were legal under US antitrust laws before the NPA was adopted. The authors argue that even some activities like price fixing and profit pooling would have been permitted in a limited fashion before the NPA was approved.

The authors' exhaustive analysis of the 1965 US Department of Justice suit against the joint operating newspapers in Tucson, Arizona, (the Citizen Publishing case) and the subsequent development of the NPA show the newspaper industry and the country missed a great opportunity to have alternatives other than the present law. Without going into detail here, the authors convincingly argue that the alternatives may well have been better. Busterna and Picard point out that the failing newspaper requirement is one of the main problems with the NPA because a newspaper that is already failing through poor circulation is almost impossible to save. They argue that it would be better to allow competing newspapers to enter cost-sharing and limited cartel arrangements before one of them is truly failing.

But reading the authors' review of literature on the effect of competition on editorial content makes one question whether preserving newspapers will do much to preserve diversity. The authors argue that research shows there is little diversity in editorial content even between competing newspapers because newspapers seek to appeal to the mass in the middle and will not want to upset the "narrow band extending between liberal Democrats and conservative Republicans."

St. Louisans might take issue with that assertion. For example, the conservative *Globe-Democrat* trumpeted the invasion of Grenada as a justified rollback of Communism, while the liberal *Post-Dispatch* condemned it as the worst sort of gunboat diplomacy. That difference of opinion hardly seems a "narrow band" and yet was typical of the way the

papers reacted to the major and minor issues of the day. They provided a clear choice of views in St. Louis until the *Globe's* death in 1986. Such distinct viewpoints were published in competing newspapers in a number of other cities, including Shreveport, which continues to have editorial diversity under a unique agreement whereby the surviving newspaper is publishing a second editorial page produced by the publisher of the failed newspaper. Busterna and Picard only lightly touch upon the Shreveport model which, like the authors' suggestion for a modified NPA, may well be too late to provide much editorial diversity in the American press.

The next few years are likely to see more newspaper closings and the terminations of JOAs rather than attempts to form new ones. The *El Paso Herald-Post,* which was in a JOA with the *El Paso Times,* was closed while this book review was being written. El Paso was the last major city in Texas to have competing dailies; such competition ended in Dallas in 1991, San Antonio in 1993 and Houston in 1995. The situation in Texas reflects that in the rest of the country. The trend is clear, and it seems the best bet for editorial diversity may be the establishment of new online newspapers. Nevertheless, *Joint Operating Agreements* is well-written, well-researched, and is quite valuable for anyone interested in the history and economics of the newspaper industry.

>Jim Mueller,University of Texas at Austin

Media And Public Life

Everette E. Dennis & Robert W. Snyder (eds.), New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 1997. 190 pp.

This compilation represents the best articles from a decade's worth of the Freedom Forum's *Media Studies Journal.* It contains over 20 pieces that may be characterized simply as short in length but large in stature. This is true both in terms of the contributors themselves and the thoughts evoked by their articles. Included in this volume are such wide-ranging topics as television in public life, the history of newspapers, gender and race equality in the media, the relationship between news and public relations as well the future of both the media in general and the news media in particular. The authors, drawn from academic, governmental and professional domains, include Newton Minnow, Christopher Lasch, Herbert Gans, Maureen Dowd, Robert MacNeil and Leo Bogart.

Reading this book brought me back to my first semester as a Ph.D. student. As part of my course load for that semester I was required to take an introductory seminar in mass communications. Despite the course title and despite the fact that we read hundreds and hundreds of pages from a variety of sources, the course rather simplistically dealt with only two complementary issues: what was thought to ail the news media and what could be done to remedy the supposed ailments. The major ills of the news industry were summarized simply as the corporate ownership structures (in the Altshull vein) and the growing distance between news consumers and news providers. Civic journalism was offered to the class as a quick and simple remedy to those ills.

Although studies of the news media, and indeed the media in general, can be easily dichotomized in such a context-less problem/solution-type fashion, what the chapters in *Media And Public Life* make clear is that whatever problems in the news media system one chooses to focus on, those problems are neither so simple or so easily rectified. Rather, the news media must be seen in the context of the larger media systems from which they draw their existence. Accordingly, the successes and failures of the news media can be seen as interpolations of the overall media system. Likewise, any media system can only be seen as part of the society in which it resides. Thus, the issue of racial equality in the newsroom is similarly an issue of equality in the overall media system and of equality in general society.

Despite the fact that it is often done, then to partition the media in general or the news media in particular from the rest of society is to commit a serious error. In the language of the social sciences, such a partitioning would lack both internal and external validity. Whether one agrees or disagrees with any specific idea put forward in the book, the strength of *Media And Public Life* as a whole is that it does not undertake such a partitioning. In doing so it paints a more representative picture of the role the media can and do play in the lives of American citizens.

One may, of course, ask why it is necessary to purchase a book that represents only a compilation of previously released work. There is some validity in that question. But, in response, I would argue that nowhere has such an interesting and thought-provoking body of work by such a diverse group of authors been brought together in one easily accessible place. These articles contain many of the enduring questions that continue to haunt media practitioners, those of us who study the media, and indeed many in the general public. It represents a focused attempt to

direct attention to those issues and as such should be required reading for all those beginning their work with the media and recommended to all those, both private or professional, who express an interest in this vast topic.

>Michael Antecol, University of Missouri,Columbia

Museum of Broadcast Communications Encyclopedia of Television, 3 vols.

Horace Newcomb (ed.), Cary O'Dell (Photo Editor), Noelle Watson (Commissioning Editor), Chicago and London: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 1997. 1,948 pp.

(Volume 1: encyclopedia entries A-F; Volume 2: encyclopedia entries G-P; Vol. 3: encyclopedia entries Q-Z, notes on contributors, index.)

A project of Chicago's Museum of Broadcast Communications, this extraordinary encyclopedia was edited by Dr. Horace Newcomb, the Heyne Professor of Communication at the University of Texas at Austin, who consulted with an advisory board of 14 scholars to define the project. They reduced the possible topics to about 1,000 entries focused on the work on "major English-speaking, television producing countries, and for that reason the bulk of the material presented here deals with television programs, people, and topics drawn from the United States, Britain, Canada, and Australia."

The encyclopedia, a project requiring three years of preparation and contributions from more than 300 authors, has produced a carefully edited and beautifully created historical presentation and interpretation of television as produced in the United States, Britain, Canada, and Australia. The Museum of Broadcast, founded in 1987 under the direction of Bruce DuMont, has a collection of radio and television artifacts and offers a series of public forums and interactive programs about the social effects of television programs, and the development of the technology underpinning the medium. The museum's resources also include the A.C. Nielsen, Jr., Research Center, "a collection comprising thousands of hours of programming, commercials, newscasts, and special events." These materials are available to anyone who wishes to listen to, or view the past of, broadcast communication at the museum.

Though most of the entries in the encyclopedia are for programs, persons, and corporations, there are included wonderfully descriptive entries about developments in the industry, such as "Color Television," "Fairness Doctrine," "Educational Television," and "Cable Television." The encyclopedia has been carefully and beautifully created. The subject matter is riveting. The entries are interesting, descriptive, factual, scholarly, and illustrated with black and white photographs and corporate logos. The entries include a broad range topics, persons, television productions, products, and developments. The entry for "I Love Lucy" illustrates the detail and quality of information provided in the encyclopedia. "I Love Lucy," U.S. Situation Comedy, is followed by a lengthy, descriptive and insightful essay discussing the themes, successes, the cultural setting of the program, and the detail of the series, persons and institutions involved in its production.

As in all the entries about television programs, the information includes a list of the cast and characters, the producers, the programming history in number of episodes, the network, a chronology of the broadcasts by month and year, and a bibliography for further reading. References to related entries are given, such as, "See also Arnaz, Desi; Ball, Lucille; Comedy; domestic Settings; Family on Television." The entries for television actors describe their styles and careers, and present a full listing of performances in broadcasting, detailing the years of the various television series, mini-series, and made-for-television movies.

The entry for " 'I Love Lucy' describes the details of the creation and success of the show. For example, " 'I Love Lucy' debuted on CBS in October 1951 and was an immediate sensation. It spent four of its six prime-time seasons as the highest-rated series on television and never finished lower than third place." The success of "I Love Lucy" is described and analyzed in detail and illustrated with photographs. The encyclopedia's entries describe corporations involved in the television industry. The "Cable Networks" entry, for example, defines cable networks by describing the services, illustrating the entry with network logos, and summarizing the complex environment in which the networks competed and developed.

The encyclopedia includes many entries about the companies involved in television produced and broadcast in the English-speaking countries. The entry entitled "Cable Networks" is an example of the encyclopedia's holistic approach to the subject of television. A definition and description of the cable network system introduces the entry. The channels (25)on most cable systems are listed. The list begins with Arts and Entertainment (A & E),continues with Black Entertainment Television (BET), and Home Shopping Network, and Nickelodeon ("children's

and family programming,") and ends with The Weather Channel, ("24 hours a day of weather information"). The entry describes how the cable networks operate. Pay networks, pay-per-view networks, regional networks, and a history of networks are included in this entry. The history begins with the first cable network, Home Box Office. The cable logos provide the topic's illustrations and, as with all entries, a bibliography for further reading is included.

>Frances Wilhoit, Indiana University

PR! A Social History of Spin

Stuart Ewen, New York: Basic Books, 1996. 480 pp.

Just how slippery is the definition of PR is clear to anyone who tries to identify the PR activities at, say, the White House or the Pentagon—or the Vatican or the Sears Tower for that matter. Every message and every activity takes on aspects of PR. To avoid drawing the unhelpful conclusion that public relations is in fact the whole wide world, one will be forced to create categories that, however reasonable, will bear his or her stamp. By the end of this exercise, we're likely to learn as much about the person examining PR as about PR itself.

That has certainly been true for PR historians. Textbooks for courses in public relations use an onward-and-upward model as they describe PR beginning with press agentry and the ballyhoo of P. T. Barnum, gaining a measure of respect at the hands of Ivy Lee and Edward Bernays, and evolving into the professionalism apparent in the Public Relations Society of America and the International Association of Business Communicators. In *Corporate Public Relations*, free marketeer Marvin Olasky documented a century of big business/government collaboration.

And in *The Unseen Power*, PR education pioneer Scott Cutlip focused on the careers of more than a dozen pioneering practitioners, many whom he knew. So it is not surprising that in *PR!* Hunter College social historian Stuart Ewen sees public relations largely as an anti-democratic enterprise.

This enterprise began, according to Ewen, with the populism of the Progressive era, when muckraking journalists exposed the myriad oppressions of big business. Progressives viewed the public as rational, and they believed that social conditions would improve if the public was presented with reasonable arguments based on fact. Corporations responded with

information campaigns of their own. During those trust-busting times AT&T successfully "educated the public" into approving its monopoly status.

Faith in a rational public eroded in the 1920s as the social psychology of Gustave Le Bon gained the acceptance of opinion shapers like Walter Lippmann and Edward Bernays. In *The Crowd*, Le Bon had proclaimed, "To know the art of impressing the imagination of crowds is to know at the same time the art of governing them." Embracing this insight, corporate public relations learned to use market surveys and opinion polls to forge a conceptual link between public welfare and free enterprise.

Democratic impulses revived after this link broke in October 1929. Big business grew increasingly alarmed as FDR used his public relations savvy to align the middle and working classes with the federal government. So big business fought back. Campaigns of the National Association of Manufacturers used radio, films, and billboards—even the New York World's Fair in 1939—for one overarching purpose: to co-opt the democratic expectations that grew with the New Deal.

Ewen's history of spin in the 20th century shows democratic movements thwarted by massive corporate propaganda, populism corrupted into acquiescence. But despite corporate capitalism's resources and skills, Ewen believes that democracy can re-awaken if the isolating spell of demography can be broken and the work of imagination, organization, and education can unite a people for the causes of freedom and equality.

To say that *PR!* is the most compelling history of public relations that has been written is to damn it with faint praise. Books about PR, historical or not, tend either to support the practice of public relations uncritically or to condemn it unmercifully. Ewen's book deserves superlatives because it is more measured and historically nuanced. If a person were to read only one history of public relations in America, Ewen's would be the best choice.

Not that the book is without flaws. It begins with breezy first-person accounts of getting publicity in the *New York Post* and of interviewing Bernays. But these accounts give way to a denser, third-person history after a few dozen pages in a remarkably abrupt shift in tone and direction. Moreover, Ewen's focus on the grand narrative of capitalist PR ignores the workaday world of most business public relations, not to mention that of nonprofit and charitable concerns. It is important to remember that the first book published about public relations, Herbert Heebner Smith's *Publicity and Progress*, dealt not with business but with

religion, education, and social work. Nevertheless, Ewen has written a provocative history, one that deserves to be widely discussed.

>John P. Ferré, University of Louisville

Pragmatic Fundraising For College Administrators And Development Officers

Ralph Lowenstein, Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997. 132 pp.

Ralph Lowenstein won a reputation as a highly successful fund raising dean during his 18 years as Dean of the College of Journalism at the University of Florida. By the time he left his post in 1994, Lowenstein's efforts resulted in 68 different endowment funds valued at more than $20 million.

Pragmatic Fundraising is part memoir and part self-help guide in which Lowenstein shares with readers strategies and techniques for successful fundraising, for example: how to recognize and approach a potential donor, how to organize a fundraising committee, how to approach foundations, and how to write compelling proposals. The book also contains more than 20 exhibits ranging from letters of invitation, to proposal cover letters, and even a letter of condolence.

From a professional fundraiser's perspective, what is refreshing about *Pragmatic Fundraising* is Lowenstein's understanding that college administrators must increasingly play a highly active role in fund development activities. Lowenstein, as it turned out, not only liked fundraising but ended up spending half his time involved in fundraising activities. What makes Lowenstein a good fundraiser is his ability to form relationships with potential donors, cultivate their interest, respond to their needs and, most importantly, know when to ask for the order. Indeed, *Pragmatic Fundraising* is full of helpful examples and anecdotes of this "high-touch" form of fundraising, which obviously has been so successful for Lowenstein.

However, fundraising today goes beyond "high touch" and has become very "high tech," something to which Lowenstein pays little attention and which is a major shortcoming of the book. Fundraisers today require a high degree of knowledge in the areas of data management, market segmentation, and tax and legal areas. Unfortunately, little attention is given in the book to these matters or to highly used fundraising vehicles such as telemarketing, direct mail or planned gifts,

including annuities, bequests or charitable uni-trusts. These are important elements of fundraising that every development officer or administrator must come to understand to be successful.

In conclusion, *Pragmatic Fundraising* is a useful introduction to the do's and dont's of fundraising. However, in reading the book, college administrators and fundraising wanabees must themselves be pragmatic in understanding its limitations.

>Ted Garrard, The University of Western Ontario

Studies in Newspaper and Periodical History: 1995 Annual

Michael Harris and Tom O'Malley (eds.), Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997. 264 pp.

The range of scholarship collected in *Studies in Newspaper and Periodical History: 1995 Annual* is vast indeed. Spanning the period from 1700 through the 1970s, with articles covering the United States, England, Wales, Germany and Australia, this book addresses the very role of serial publication within the wider sphere of cultural history. In its examinations of serials ranging from the 18th century's *Tatler* through to the emergence of the late 20th century's *Rolling Stone,* this collection seeks to establish the serial as a core element in the historical study of print.

The work is edited by Michael Harris, a Lecturer in History at the University of London and founder of the *Journal of Newspaper and Periodical History* from which this work is culled, and Tom O'Malley, Senior Lecturer in Media Studies at the University of Glanmorgan, Wales. Both scholars contribute articles to this book, with Harris' opening essay *Locating the Serial* providing the *raison d'etre* for the entire collection. Harris' piece raises questions about the manner in which serial publication has been historically studied, suggesting a need for wider debates about the role of the serial in print culture. He argues that a "worn-out form of cultural elitiara" has placed the central components or serial publication—the newspaper and magazine—secondary to book publication as a source of study. Happily though, he argues, "like a long-unused engine, the 18th century printed serial is spluttering into life."

Following that introductory essay, much of the rest of this book seeks to prove the importance of serial publication in establishing shared concerns over social issues. This covers a wide range of specific issues of

various eras and locales. New York University's Amy Beth Aronson discusses the role at "Lacelles" magazines and women's self-representation in the early years of American democracy, effectively arguing that the American women's magazine promised revolutionary possibilities in providing redress for women's enforced silence in the public sphere. In another piece, Tom O'Malley and his Wales' colleagues Stuart Allan and Andrew Thompson explore the relationship between the newspaper press in Wales and issues of national identity, pointing out a need to recognize the way in which the press reflected conflict within Welsh society over the meaning of Welsh identity. Twentieth century, post-World War II Germany is discussed in Jessica Gienow-Hochfs fascinating study of the influence of the American newspaper *Neue Zeitung's* coverage of the Nuremberg Nazi war criminal trials in the establishment of a collective German guilt for the crimes of Adolph Hitler.

Researchers of a certain dominant demographic will most certainly enjoy reading Cleveland State University David Atkins' analysis of *Rolling Stone*'s coverage of the American New Left during the late 1960s. Atkins discusses the role of the underground press in general in the turbulent late '60s and the myth of *Rolling Stone* in particular. He documents the publication's evolution from its genesis as an "underground" alternative voice that espoused both political and cultural change through to its later-day mainstream commercial popularity when it sought to distance itself from radical politics. Ultimately, he concludes that the goal of incisive, partisan reporting is incompatible with a serial's economic success; in essence telling us, *Rolling Stone* sold out.

This book concludes with an engaging essay by Acadia University's Glenn Wilkinson on the use of the newspaper as a serious source for historians. Wilkinson discusses the mental and physical problems of newspaper research, including the researcher's tendency to get side tracked within the spiraling spools of microfilm by tales of gruesome murders or the score in the Cup final. He offers practical advice for the historian new to the newspaper as a source: take a sweater (microfilm rooms are always cold); don't read at lunch (your eyes need a rest). Wilkinson is clearly an advocate of mining the newspaper for research gems. Indeed he states that exploring the newspaper can provide great value to "those willing to get their historical hands dirty."

Wise words indeed for those of us engaged in the pursuit of understanding the role of serial publications through history.

>Kathy English, Ryerson Polytechnical University

Wireless: Strategically Liberalizing the Telecommunications Market

Brian J.W. Regli, Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1997. 296 pp.

In these times, when market forces are close to automatically championed as a panacea for society's ills, it's notable to come across a mainstream work of telecommunications policy that doesn't mindlessly jump on the same bandwagon—and that also attempts to ground its analysis and recommendations in historical and comparative terms. Author Brian J.W. Regli (most recently employed at a management and communications consultancy that serves such clients as NYNEX, Bell Atlantic, and BellSouth) attempts to move the telecommunications policy debate past the dichotomizing choices of market regulation versus state regulation. Neither a mob of companies scrambling to do each other in nor a lumbering state monopoly has in his view achieved the sustainable growth of telecommunications services nor the goal of broad access worldwide

The absence of large infrastructural investments of the kind needed by telephony and other cabled services makes the wireless systems of the book's title (such as cellular telephone, paging systems, and their variants) uniquely positioned to finally deliver the promises of access, accessibility, and increased democracy, provided that governments and corporations make the proper decisions today. His policy proposal is what he labels "strategic liberalization"—a broad-based regulatory framework shared and put into practice by government and industry to promote wireless and its role in economic development. Regli argues for "a more pro-active role for government institutions and regulatory bodies worldwide," not in terms of limiting activities of telecommunications developers, but "to further liberalize and develop"certain areas of the economy—such as wireless telecommunications—that are seen to benefit entire societies. In this way, he attempts to set himself apart from the free market radicals as well as from what he calls leftist protectionists.

Of primary relevance for communication historians are his policy analyses of telecommunications laws and regulation in four countries from generally the 1960s through the mid-1990s. While recent developments in the US, Britain, Russia, and Brazil illustrate the problems associated with swinging too far toward state or corporate control, Regli sees opportunities in all these countries to beneficially moderate these extreme responses. His overview of relevant acts, policies, and their legal milieus is useful for anyone with interests in the recent history of telecommunications policy. However, some features of the book limit its useful-

ness for communication historians, not the least of which is its constant use of cute "green"analogies which, in this case, tend to trivialize the matter—for example, equating telecommunications markets to different ecologies and describing their growth and development as needing the nutrients of capital, customers, and the like, or concluding the book with a call for "telecommunications bio-diversity."

More seriously, a conspicuous absence in a book on global regulation and economics is an analysis of the imperatives of capitalism as they shape this process and its priorities. Telecommunications companies, governments, and other constituencies are presented here as autonomous players in a giant game of "Let's Make a Deal," instead of as positioned and working within the global capitalist system and its drive toward increasing concentration of power and resources. Corporations, technologies, and their needs are therefore presented as natural, autonomous, or as self-evident instead of as produced and pressured by goals of profit-maximization and expansion. More engagement with the vast literature of political economy and communications (recent representatives include Mosco, Garnham, Murdock, Wasko, McChesney, and Golding) would deepen the analysis made and the conclusions reached.

A second shortcoming is the book's reliance on two theoretical perspectives which mesh nicely with the absence of remarks about capitalism: technological determinism and modernization theory. The notion that communication technology is the source of social change makes it easier to promote technology alone (in this case, wireless telecommunications) as the means of achieving economic development. To find such a perspective in this work is not surprising. Regli intends this book as a combination of academic study, policy analysis, and corporate strategy (in practice, it is more of the latter two). For its intended audience of mainstream North American telecommunications scholars, think-tank members, and CEOs worried about the bottom line, this mix is (all too often) suitable.

In sum, the book is useful for its description of different policy orientations regarding telecommunications and its account of recent developments in telecommunication regulation and policy in a handful of countries. However, for conclusions more complex and troubling than we simply need to get together to make the best decisions, one should go to work that is grounded more clearly in the historical dynamics of corporatization, capitalism, and the intricate realities they seek more successfully to understand.

>James Hamilton, SUNY Geneseo

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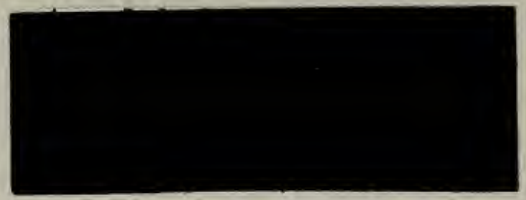

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Editor's Note

Women—more than 100 years of their role in the history of American mass media—is the single focus of the articles in this issue of *American Journalism*. Traditional histories of mass media in America still overlook the important role that many women played in journalism's formation. The articles in this issue add substantial scholarship on the subject, spanning two centuries—from the publication of activist labor periodicals of the 1800s to the development of public relations strategies in the 1900s.

"Those Who Toil and Spin" is the subject of Mary Cronin's examination of textile factory workers' publications, which writers used to rally women to change working conditions in the textile industry. Lamonica says these New England periodicals, including *The Lowell Offering* and *The Voice of Industry*, may have been the first labor publications for women.

Activists in the women's suffrage movement are chronicled by Elizabeth Burt in her article, "Dissent and Control in a Woman Suffrage Periodical: 30 Years of the *Wisconsin Citizen*." The women who published the *Citizen* chose to downplay disagreements among their members, Burt says, rather than become an outlet for conflicting constituencies.

A comparison of the lives of two early female pioneers is the focus of Paulette Kilmer's "Flying Around the World in 1889—In Search of the Archetypal Wanderer." Kilmer examines the portrayal of two pioneering adventurers—Nellie Bly (Elizabeth Cochrane) and Elizabeth Bisland—to explain why Bly attracted so much media attention and Bisland was left largely unnoticed.

The early career of Doris E. Fleischman, a woman who is central in the history of public relations, is the focus of Susan Henry's study, "There Is Nothing in This Profession...That A Woman Cannot Do." Henry has published extensively on the lives of Fleischman and her husband, Edward L. Bernays, but here Henry gives specific attention to Fleischman's early working years to capture the working collaboration Fleischman and Bernays and the impact of that relationship on the development of the public relations profession. Included with this article,

courtesy of Henry, are two stunning photographs of Fleischman, published here for the first time.

This issue's Great Ideas, written by Carolyn Kitch, is a description of her personal journey, using feminist theory as a different lens to help focus her study and teaching of journalism history. Kitch asks, "What Can We Learn from Feminist Theory and Practice?"

David Spencer presents another interesting collection of book reviews, beginning on page 107. His Editor's Choice, *Big Trouble* by J. Anthony Lukas, offers unusual insight into media in the Gilded Age. Other reviews cover books about the suffragist movement, overseas media, stories about the history of some significant US newspapers, and a chronicle of the early years of Hollywood.

This is the sixth issue of *American Journalism* published at California State University, Sacramento, and the initial flood of Great Ideas that I received at the beginning of my tenure as Editor has dimished to a trickle. I know that many of you have Great Ideas to share with our readers, so this is a plea to you to sit down and write them out and send them to me—six pages double-spaced of your best teaching, learning or research hints for those of us who care about media history. Great Ideas are always welcome at *American Journalism.*

Shirley Biagi
Editor

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"Those Who Toil and Spin": Female Textile Operatives' Publications in New England and the Response to Working Conditions, 1840 - 1850

By Mary M. Cronin

This article examines the publications produced by antebellum female textile operatives in New England and, specifically, their responses to working conditions. The article examines arguments for the 10-hour day, concerns about wages, work speedups, the dignity of labor and, related, discontent over class distinctions and middle class hegemony. The research highlights how the unique, gendered nature of these publications influenced the topics of discussion and the rhetoric used.

In May 1846, a writer for the Lowell, Massachusetts-based *Voice Of Industry* admonished the Massachusetts legislature after it failed to approved a 10-hour day for laborers. Factory workers, many of whom toiled 12 to 14 hours a day in poorly ventilated cotton mills with only brief meal breaks, had lobbied the legislature on several prior occasions without success. Despite this, workers redoubled their efforts and sent a 15,000-signature petition to lawmakers. It, too, failed to

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spur legislation, and caused a *Voice Of Industry* writer, (known only as E.R.) to state:

> The legislative Committee have recently told 15,000 of us, we are fools—that the evils we have petitioned them to remove, do not exist, notwithstanding we have worked day after day and experienced all these evils—that their valuable time is of too much importance to waste in the manner, and in fact, if some evils do exist, they are so very few that they area of not much consequence, and are just what we must expect; and further, the generous corporations will look after these things, so there is no fear but we shall have our just dues and they might have added (as they no doubt thought) that we were poor and consequently beneath notice.[1]

The article demonstrated that factory workers understood that important changes in social, political, and economic relationships had occurred in antebellum society. The pre-industrial society of their parents' and grandparents' generations had disappeared, and in its place a class-based society emerged, many of whose members equated money with power.

These first generations of factory workers recognized that, like artisans and mechanics before them, newspapers were a necessary vehicle to lobby for social, political and economic goals.[2] Such journals allowed workers to regularly publicize their agenda to broader audiences than lectures or broadsides could reach.

First Labor Publications for Women

The majority of the nation's first factory publications were established by those operatives who had the least power in society—women. These journals—which emerged only in New England's large, planned textile cities in which female labor predominated—also appear to have been the first labor publications for women.[3] Labor publications for male artisans and mechanics first appeared in the late 1820s, the products primarily of unions and political parties.[4]

Despite having only two to three free hours a day, New England's female textile operatives produced many literary and labor publications. The first and most widely known was *The Lowell Offering* (1840-1845). Four other publications subsequently emerged in Lowell: *The Operatives' Magazine* (1841-1842), *The Operative* (1843-45), *The Voice of Industry*

(1845 - 1848), and *The New England Offering* (1847 - 1850); in Cabotville (Chicopee), Massachusetts, *The Olive Leaf* and *Factory Girls' Repository* (1843); in Fall River, Massachusetts, *The Wampanoag and Operatives' Journal* (1842); and another, *The Factory Girl's Advocate* (1845), possibly was published in Boston. Five other journals were published in New Hampshire: *The Factory Girl* (1841-43); *The Factory Girl and Ladies' Garland* (1842); *The Factory Girl's Garland* (1844); *The Factory Girl's Album and Operatives' Advocate* (1846); and *The Factory Girls' Album and Mechanics' Offering* (1846-47), all based in Exeter.[5]

The Lowell Offering gained acclaim when author Charles Dickens visited Lowell and was surprised to find the operatives both literate and literary. He praised *The Lowell Offering*, stating "It will compare advantageously with a great many English annuals."[6] Since then, contemporary historians studying the industrial revolution, women's issues, and labor history frequently have cited the publication. The other factory publications have rarely been examined, however, leaving them largely unknown to both scholars and the general public.[7]

This research examines female operatives' responses to working conditions in both the labor and the genteel publications. More specifically, the article examines arguments for the 10-hour day, concerns about wages, work speedups, the dignity of labor and, relatedly, discontent about growing class distinctions and middle class hegemony. The author sought to examine how the unique, gendered nature of these publications influenced the topics of discussion or the rhetoric used. The author also sought studies of the predominantly-male labor press of the time to examine those publications' concerns and rhetoric.

Unfortunately, few studies which focus specifically on the artisans' and mechanics' press prior to 1850 exist. Two studies (which examined several of the publications) have shown that the topics which concerned the early labor publications for mechanics and artisans included attempts "to unify the working classes in their struggle to become part of middle America"; free, tax-supported public schools; suffrage for all free men; free trade; abolishment of the armed forces; direct taxation; fully equipped militias; an end to capital punishment; government protection of the working classes; repeal of chartered monopolies; and changes in lending and borrowing laws.[8]

The author examined the entire content of every existing issue of five of the publications which emerged in antebellum New England factory communities. Those five journals include three that were labor-oriented—*The Voice of Industry*, *The Factory Girl's Album and Operatives'*

Advocate, the *Factory Girl's Album and Mechanics' Offering*, and two genteel literary magazines, *The Lowell Offering* and *The New England Offering*. These were chosen because all had lengthy publication runs and most of the issues are still available for study. Some publications, such as *The Factory Girl* and *The Wampanoag and Operatives' Journal*, are barely extant; only scattered or single copies are available. Others, such as *The Factory Girl's Advocate*, are no longer extant.

Women and the Industrial Revolution

Although the nation's earliest textile mills established by Samuel Slater in Rhode Island in 1790 relied on whole families for their labor force, Slater's model wasn't followed by the larger industrial concerns which emerged in the next two decades.[9] The leading textile corporation in antebellum America in the 1820s, the Boston Manufacturing Company, purposely recruited single farm women for the majority of its workforce. The Boston Associates, as the group became known, revolutionized textile production and urban industrialization in America through its creation of planned factory communities and textile operations which housed every step in cloth production, from the raw materials to the finished, printed cloth, in one building.[10] The Boston Associates furnished the capital, planned the communities, built the factories, recruited the labor pool, and marketed their finished goods.[11]

The Associated planned every aspect of their industrial communities in the hopes of avoiding the grinding poverty, filth, and disease that were prevalent in Britain's textile cities. As such, the Associates' textile operations were located in rural areas near rivers to take advantage of the clean water power. The workforce was planned with particular care. Cognizant of the shortage of male labor, and wanting to avoid potential union activity, management recruited women. Single farm women, in particular, were sought by factory owners because they were available in large numbers, were used to working long hours, had some experience helping their mothers produce cloth via spinning and weaving at home, were literate, seen as highly virtuous and most importantly, were viewed as deferential to patriarchal authority.[12] Women were readily available and they needed the work, since the goods they once produced at home—clothing and household items—were now being made more inexpensively and faster by industry.

Despite these facts, other emerging industries had largely ignored women. Textile managers recruited the women by initially offering

relatively high wages and clean, well-run boarding houses with female matrons and strict codes of conduct for occupants. City planners also built educational, cultural and religious facilities for the workers. Their efforts paid off. The emerging mill cities, such as Lowell, had largely homogenous workforces that were almost 80 percent female, under 30 years of age, and from rural origins.[13]

This group assumed that if they created a model city—one with clean, well-supervised housing, schools, lecture halls, cultural activities, churches, and a benevolently paternal system of overseers—a harmonious atmosphere would prevail.[14] Initially it did. The first wave of female operatives to live in the planned community of Lowell, Massachusetts, starting in 1823, appeared to have few grievances against the factory system. But as the 1830s and 1840s progressed, operatives complained about work speedups, wage cuts, and increased boarding house charges and conditions, as well as the hours of labor.[15]

The very fact that Lowell was largely a female city allowed operatives to develop a sense of labor and gender solidarity relatively easily. Given what the Boston Associates thought was careful planning, Lowell's factory managers were taken by surprise in February 1834 when one-sixth of their female employees struck to protest wage cuts brought on by overproduction and a slow market.[16] Rumors of the impending salary reductions were enough to cause the women to hold meetings, circulate petitions and, in some factories, completely stop work. Rallies and pledges by the women that they wouldn't return to work until the pay cut was rescinded were short-lived. The strike collapsed within a week after the strikers found themselves financially drained and evicted from their boarding-houses.[17] Most of the women returned to work, while others returned home.[18]

A financial panic in 1837 ended this first organizing effort. A more systematic effort wouldn't appear until 1845, led by Sarah Bagley, who later served as editor of *The Voice Of Industry*, with the formation of the Female Labor Reform Association. Although the group's concerns included health and safety issues, increasing wages, and boarding house conditions, the group's primary goal was achieving a 10-hour day. By the 1840s, however, much of the labor agitation had shifted from street corners and meeting houses and into the pages of the press.

Voices of Reform

The publications emerged as the textile cities fell into an economic decline, the victims of their own industrial success. Rapid over-expansion

in less than two decades flooded the marketplace with cheap textiles, forcing drastic cost-cutting. Operatives denounced the long hours of labor, low pay, and subsequent health and educational concerns in their journals. They also used their journals to address their disenchantment with class divisions.

Labor historian Philip Foner has noted that the publications' importance "cannot be overemphasized. Workers smuggled them into the mills and they were eagerly read and passed along. These magazines stimulated and helped build the Female Labor Reform Associations of the forties [1840s]."[19]

The publications were largely helmed by men, despite the fact that numerous women wrote for, and served as co-editors of, the publications. Initially, *The Lowell Offering*, *The Operatives' Magazine*, and *The Voice of Industry* were supervised by male editors, although women later ran the publications. *The Voice Of Industry* only devoted substantial space to women operatives' issues during the year of 1846-47 when textile worker Sarah Bagley assumed the editorship. *The Factory Girl and Ladies' Garland* and *The Factory Girl's Album and Operatives' Advocate* also were established and run by a man, Charles Dearborn. Despite Dearborn's overall supervision, an early editorial in *The Factory Girl's Album and Operatives Advocate* stated that it was:

> edited by an association of females who are operatives in factories, and consequently are well qualified to judge the wants of those whose cause they will advocate; and having borne in common with them their burdens and afflictions, are proper judges to administer an antidote that will alleviate their wrongs, and prevent a relapse of those abuses which have so long been heaped upon them.[20]

Dearborn changed the publication's name in May 1847 to *The Factory Girl's Album and Mechanics' Offering* in an attempt to broaden its appeal and readership. The new publication billed itself as the "devoted champion, not only to the operative of the mills, but to the laboring classes generally."

Circulation figures for most of the publications are largely unknown. Most had subscription agents throughout New England and some, such as *The Lowell Offering*, claimed subscribers in most states and in several countries overseas.[21] Who those subscribers were—other operatives, artisans and mechanics, early supporters of labor or women's rights, or simply the curious—remains unknown, as the publications never addressed the issue and no records exist. Similarly, most of the

publications never listed their circulations. Of the two that did, *The Olive Leaf* and *Factory Girl's Repository* claimed a circulation of nearly 1,000 copies in 1843.[22] In 1846, *The Voice of Industry* claimed a weekly circulation of 2,000 copies.[23]

Magazines Never Opposed Hard Labor

Literature and poetry on non-labor topics predominated in the genteel magazines, although some editorials, stories and poetry occasionally dealt with labor topics. The female labor reform journals stood in contrast to these literary publications by devoting virtually all of their space to labor issues and concerns. Like their genteel counterparts, the labor publications also offered readers serialized novels, short stories and poetry, yet virtually all of the copy focused on the plight of factory operatives, especially females.

It should be pointed out that even the pro-labor publications' editors never opposed hard labor. Rather, they denounced what many considered to be the unhealthy conditions and poor treatment which resulted from such labor. Most of the operatives (writers and editors included) had worked from an early age on their parents' farms and were willing to do the same textile work (i.e., spinning and weaving) that their mothers had done at home.[24] Then, too, they did not oppose the establishment of factories and subsequent mechanization of the nation. As historian Walter Licht notes, unlike Europeans, antebellum Americans welcomed machines with great enthusiasm. "Machines replaced few workers; with an expanding agricultural base and with labor therefore lured to the land, machines filled a vacuum. The machine did not emerge as a phantom in the midst of the new American republic, as a threat necessarily either to livelihoods or social order."[25]

Like the editors of the artisans' and mechanics' press, the greatest concern of many of the editors at the operatives' journals (particularly the pro-labor publications) was achieving a 10-hour day.[26] Labor agitation for the 10-hour day dated to 1791 when a group of Philadelphia carpenters struck, demanding a shorter day.[27] The demands did not become regular for three decades, however, until President Martin Van Buren approved a 10-hour day in 1840 for federal workers, thus giving hope to other workers, who increased their lobbying efforts.[28]

As labor historians Philip Foner and David Roediger have noted, reducing work hours "constituted the prime demand in the class conflicts that spawned America's first industrial strike, its first citywide trade union

councils, its first general strikes, its first organization uniting skilled and unskilled workers, its first strike by females, and its first attempts at regional and national labor organization." The issue unified "workers across the lines of craft, race, sex, skill, age, and ethnicity."[29]

Both the labor and the genteel literary publications were uniform in their reasons why a 10-hour day was necessary—workers' health would improve and the extra time would allow operatives to better themselves educationally. *The Voice of Industry* used both arguments in its quest to obtain the 10-hour day. The newspaper was the joint product of the New England Workingman's Association and the Female Labor Reform League. Virtually every issue, both under its male editor, William Young (1845-46), and later its female editor, Sarah Bagley (1846-47), contained editorials, articles, and letters to the editor supporting the 10-hour day. The newspaper never minced words about labor conditions or its disenchantment with middle class hegemony, living up to its slogan "Hearken to me, I also will show mine opinion."

A December 26, 1845 editorial, for example, stated factory operatives labored longer than other members of the working classes, yet also played to a commonly-held belief that women were more fragile than men.[30] "Day laborers in the fresh air only work 10 hours the longest day in the year . . . . But here are poor, tender girls, in a confined atmosphere, drawing into their lungs the floating fibers of materials, forced to labor 13 hours in a day—rise in the dark and go home amidst snow and sleet—and some of them children."[31]

Later articles in *The Voice of Industry* were even more pointed about health concerns. One said, "The human frame with its delicate machinery is more worn and broken by too many hours' labor, than by hard labor itself . . . . It is the long hours of weary standing or sitting in the bad air of the factories which destroy and slowly undermine the human condition, and produce premature debility and finally death."[32] Another stated, "Children and young persons require considerable recreation in the open air in order to produce a proper development of the physical structure. Variety of motion is one of the principal agents in the establishment of good corporal health." The article added that "extreme toil . . . has also a debilitating effect upon the mind."[33]

The Voice of Industry's editors also made clear that reduced hours of labor would allow operatives to devote themselves to educational improvement, thus elevating the working classes and society as a whole. Artisans' and mechanics' publications made similar arguments, stating that education would allow the working classes to enter the ranks of the

middle classes.[34] *Voice of Industry* writer Huldah J. Stone said the 10-hour day would let operatives "cultivate all our faculties in that way and manner which shall most increase our own usefulness—add to the good of our fellow creatures and honor the great Creator."[35]

The newspaper's editors and writers were highly critical of operatives who sped back to the factory gates before meal breaks were over rather than spending their free minutes reading. One article stated, "Have they been so long accustomed to watching machinery that they have actually become dwarfs in intellect—and lost to all sense of their own God—like powers of mind—yea, more, have they any minds more than the beasts that perisheth? If so, why are they not in their rooms storing their minds with useful practical knowledge which shall fit them high and noble stations in the moral and intellectual world?"[36] The issue was a personal one for Editor Sarah Bagley, who was angered that long work hours made her unable to improve her education.[37] Bagley, like many of the operatives, initially found the mill cities attractive because they offered culture, something her rural town of Laconia, New Hampshire, could not. Libraries, evening classes, lyceum lectures, and literary circles flourished in many industrial cities.[38]

Argued for Health and Education

The Factory Girl's Album and Operatives' Advocate also used health and education arguments in supporting the 10-hour day. A February 1846 article noted:

> Look at the mere child not 11 years of age, that is . . . compelled to labor from five o'clock in the morning till seven at night, making 14 hours for a day's work. And I would ask what opportunity a person thus situated has of improving, and cultivating her intellectual faculties. While on the other hand, had they but 10 hours to labor, they could secure for themselves a comfortable maintenance, without impairing their health, and a privilege of obtaining a good education, whereby they might become useful and respectable members of society.[39]

The publication noted that it "has heretofore been the unflinching advocate of the '10-hour system,' and of all other measures of reform, which we have thought would tend to the alleviation of the present wrongs of factory operatives."[40]

The Factory Girl's Album and Operatives' Advocate often used class rhetoric in its lobbying efforts for the 10-hour day. For example, a September 1846 article stated:

> Our cause is a just one . . . . The 10 hour system is already in successful operation in some parts of New England, and the day is not far distant when the corporations in New Hampshire will have to adopt it. This enlightened age will not admit of so much servility as now exits, and has existed for ages; and unless the tyrants speedily forsake many of their wicked ways, they will be left alone in their wickedness; and their shops of brick and stone will become desolate.[41]

The Factory Girl's Album continued to use working class rhetoric, but also drew upon the image of the frail female to lobby for shortened hours. For example, in an article titled "The Evils of the Factory System," the author criticized the factory owners' policy of 14- and 15-hour days: "The movers of our factory system, are without doubt, an enterprising class of men, and as such ought to be commended." Yet, the writer added, "Shame on you ye devotees to gold, ye pretended lords of creation. Hang your heads, and blush with shame and confusion, when you reflect upon your wicked tyranny and oppression; and that oppression exercised upon poor and helpless females."[42]

Although the pro-labor papers lobbied regularly for a shortened work day, New England's factory operatives were far from being the leaders in the 10-hour movement, however, and would not see their goal achieved until the 1850s—after their publications had all ceased. Female operatives faced great difficulty in convincing the public, particularly the upper classes, that workers were both deserving of a 10-hour day and that they would make good use of their free time.

A *Voice of Industry* article noted in 1846 that the middle and upper classes believed that reducing hours of labor and providing more leisure time would allow operatives to "give themselves over to all manner of wickedness and degradation." The journal's staff disagreed firmly and proclaimed factory workers to be virtuous and "free from vicious habits."[43] After 15 minutes were added to meal breaks in 1847, another article made clear most workers used the time to better themselves: "And what horrible things do you suppose they were doing? Most of them were reading books or newspapers, others were chatting with their friends or greeting new comers . . . ."[44]

The middle and upper classes firmly opposed shorter work hours, however, and refused to support the petitions and calls for the shorter workday, particularly when mill owners claimed that free time would increase "crime, suffering, wickedness, and pauperism."[45] *The Voice of Industry* issued calls for operatives to unite and remain united to achieve the resolution of their labor grievances:

> Some say that 'capital will take good care of labor,' but don't believe it; don't trust them. Is it not plain, that they are trying to deceive the public, by telling them that your task is easy and pleasant, and that there is no need of reform? Too many are destitute of feeling and sympathy, and it is a great pity, that they were not obliged to toil one year, and then they would be glad to see the '10-hour Petition' brought before the legislature. This is plain, but true language.[46]

Despite factory women's lack of franchise, New England's textile operatives used legislative petitions as their main tool to gain the 10-hour day. *The Voice of Industry*'s editors took the lead in publicizing petition efforts.[47] Petition drives in 1843, 1844, 1845 and 1846 sent thousands of signatures to the Massachusetts legislature but failed to motivate the politicians, particularly the 1846 drive, because a large number of the signers were women.[48] Operatives persevered, however.

The Voice of Industry editor, Sarah Bagley, who also was a leader of the Lowell Female Labor Reform Association which sponsored the petition drive in 1845, and six other women defied the then-social taboo of public speaking and testified before a Massachusetts legislative committee investigating labor conditions.[49] No legislative actions resulted, despite Bagley's testimony on the effects of long workday hours on operatives' health. The committee to whom Bagley spoke acknowledged that the legislature could regulate hours of labor, but insisted that "It could not deprive the citizen of [the right to make his own] contract."[50] Operatives were outraged. *A Voice Of Industry* article accused the legislature of being unable "to break the chain of corporation influence, that now binds them."[51]

Operatives in New Hampshire had somewhat greater success. Similar petition drives were staged, led by Mehitabel Eastman, president of the Manchester Female Labor Reform Association and co-editor of *The Voice Of Industry.* New Hampshire's legislature passed the first 10-hour law in New England in 1847. Despite being hailed by the operatives' publications, textile workers quickly discovered the law had so many

loopholes that their hours of labor did not significantly decrease.[52] An 11-hour day eventually was adopted by most of New England's textile mills, but not until the 1850s.[53]

The genteel publications' editors, by contrast, took a passive approach to the issue, claiming they had no power to bring about change and told operatives they should rely instead on patriarchal beneficence to change the system. A November 1842 editorial in *The Lowell Offering* said, "With wages, board, etc., we have nothing to do—these depend on circumstances over which we have no control."[54] *The New England Offering's* editor, Harriet Farley, echoed Whig support of factory owners over operatives on the 10-hour day issue. "I have no doubt that in their own good time, they will introduce the 10-hour system; and will not this be a noble deed?" Farley said. The article added that it was not "inherent corruptions of the factory system" that caused workers' ill health. Instead, Farley blamed the workers themselves, claiming that directly or indirectly, they neglected themselves.[55]

Rather than lobby for worker's rights, both the editors of *The Lowell Offering* and *The New England Offering* instead devoted most of their publications' space to essays, poems, stories, and serialized novels. Neither magazine's policy was anything but literary. *The Lowell Offering*'s sole purpose, according to its editors, was to demonstrate to the upper classes that factory operatives were educated, intelligent, literate, and refined.[56] The periodical's editors could not afford to be critical, since a major source of the journal's funding came from Lowell textile magnate Amos Lawrence. As a result, *The Lowell Offering*'s editors rarely lobbied for changes in operatives' working or living conditions.

The journal's editors also chose to say little about labor conditions because they were convinced that factory conditions were no worse than those at any other job. *The Lowell Offering*'s editors conceded that "there are causes existing here unfavorable to constant and perfect health," then cited the long workdays, the lack of ventilation, and the brief meal breaks in cold rooms. However, the editorial stated that textile workers were no less healthy than other workers throughout New England, "because those physical laws which are violated in the mills, are almost equally violated throughout New England."[57] The *Offering* stressed that factory work was actually better than other jobs available to women because operatives were paid regularly.[58]

The few editorials which commented on working conditions that appeared in the *Offering* did just that—comment—not criticize. For example, the final editorial written by the *Offering*'s editor, the Reverend

Charles Thomas, did call for changes, including shorter work hours, better ventilation in boarding houses, and the creation of mill libraries.[59] The article laid no blame, however, and was not accusatory.

Promotes the Image of "The True Woman"

Both publications promoted the rights of women to work, yet did so genteelly. The magazines attempted to work largely within the confines of the middle class image of the "true woman," and thus portrayed operatives as pious, pure, submissive, domestic, and imbued with a sense of duty to family.[60] Women were regularly portrayed in both fiction and essays as working primarily to support parents and other family members back home. A *Lowell Offering* article said that "another great source of pleasure" for operatives was to send money home to their parents.[61] Similarly, an 1848 editorial in *The New England Offering* told the story of a mill operative from Ireland whose starting pay was much less than the more experienced operatives. Yet, in only a 10-month period she managed to save $50 which she dutifully sent home to her parents.[62]

Neither journal supported labor agitation to improve conditions, however. *The Lowell Offering*'s editor, Harriet Farley, believed that factory rules and hours were not too demanding: "Neither have I ever discovered that any restraints were imposed upon us, but those which were necessary for the peace and comfort of the whole, and for the promotion of the designs for which we are collected, namely, to get money, as much of it and as fast as we can."[63] Similarly, *The New England Offering* told operatives eight years later that they could leave the mill and become teachers or undertake "less influential positions" if they sought to improve their conditions.[64]

The pro-labor journals were angered at the passive nature of the genteel publications. *The Voice of Industry*'s editors were severely critical of *The Lowell Offering*:

> This unfortunate publication roves over the country, even to other lands, bearing on its deceptive bosom a continual repetition of notes, less valuable to the reader than to the writer, but destructive to both; leaving behind the abuses and downward progress of the operatives, the very part which becomes their life, liberty, and greatness to give to the world, even if they were compelled to write the record with blood from their own veins.[65]

For many operatives, labor reform publications provided a more accurate view of factory conditions and workers' economic realities. The labor journals viewed operatives as a distinct working class, whereas the genteel journals' editors viewed such labor as temporary. *The Lowell Offering*'s editors frequently stated that factory work was a means to an end (such as to earn money for an education) for most women, rather than an end in and of itself.[66]

The distinction was important for many operatives, since changes in agriculture, particularly the transition from subsistence to market-economy farming, had increased the number of women and men during the 1840s who considered themselves members of the permanent laboring class. Although some women entered the factories to gain financial independence, other women had little choice but to take permanent positions in the mills. Conditions were different before the 1840s. Many female operatives in that era worked only part of the year, or for just a few years in the factories. Others returned home for a few months of the year to help with harvests or berry picking.[67]

Female operatives also used their publications to react to the growing class distinctions, particularly the middle class attempts to dominate socially, culturally, politically and economically. Mechanics and artisans also criticized middle-class hegemony in their publications, using Jacksonian language to denounce "the aristocracy of wealth" and exclusive privileges for the rich.[68]

The factory women of the 1830s and 1840s, only a few generations removed from their revolutionary War ancestors, stated that they were "proud daughters of freemen" who viewed themselves as equals to all other members of society.[69] Thus they were critical of members of the middle class who had cast aside the Puritan work ethic (with which the operatives were raised) and believed instead that proper women should embrace idleness and the sanctity of the home.[70]

The editor of *The Factory Girl's Album and Mechanic's Offering* promoted the dignity of labor and the nobility of the working class. A slogan in the journal's masthead said: "Honor and Shame from no condition rise—Act well your part—there all honor lies." Similarly, an article in the first issue of *The Factory Girl's Album and Operatives' Advocate* denounced both class-based distinctions and the middle class' feelings of superiority. "There is far too much of an aristocratic feeling existing among our people," said Sarah, the article's author. She added that there is

"groundless prejudice" against factory girls, whom she commended as industrious. She called class distinctions a grievous wrong. "That is the difference in caste which the employers create between their sons and daughters and the sons and daughters whom they employ to increase their wealth. We are opposed to this distinction. It is wrong; it is unjust to give the latter a supremacy in society over the former."[71]

Later articles in *The Factory Girl's Album and Operatives' Advocate* were more pointed, denouncing both class distinctions and the unequal distribution of wealth among classes. A March 1846 article noted:

> The laborer has occupied [a] too low and unworthy position in society . . . . Those whose gains have generally been the least, have been compelled to toil the hardest and longest, while others, who live in ease and affluence, have upon labors, amassed their immense wealth. Nature designs no such unjust, unequal distribution of her blessings, and she has fearfully placed the seal of her disapprobation thereon.[72]

Although they lacked the class rhetoric, editors of both *The Lowell Offering* and *The New England Offering* also voiced support for the dignity of labor and women's right to work. *The Lowell Offering*, for example, defended women's right to work in factories after Orestes A. Brownson, editor of *Boston Quarterly Review*, claimed factory girls had been "damn[ed] to infamy." The *Offering* framed its support of factory women by drawing on operatives' Puritan heritage and describing operatives as "girls who generally come from quiet country homes, where their minds and manners have been formed under the eyes of the worthy sons of the Pilgrims, and their virtuous partners . . . ."[73]

The New England Offering's editor also claimed that labor was dignified and did not make operatives any less feminine. Yet, the *Offering*'s editor pointed out that her support for labor was less out of a sense of feminism and more for religious reasons. Work, said Harriet Farley, was "one of our great preparations for another state of being . . . . Work we all must, if we mean to bring out and perfect our natures."[74]

Workers Protest Production Speed-ups

As textile mills overproduced and the economy suffered downturns in the 1840s, operatives also used their publications to denounce work speed-ups, increases in the hours of labor, and pay cuts.[75] Increases in the

work day were one of the biggest grievances. Between 1829 to 1841, 15 minutes were added to the working day. Operatives viewed the increase not as an increase in the workday, but as a decrease in leisure time. More importantly, as operatives had to tend more than one loom, the faster pace changed working conditions by decreasing operatives' autonomy. Articles in the publications noted that women had less time to converse, and that factory mangers banned both the books operatives once brought in to read during free moments and the potted flowers that once adorned the factories' windows.[76]

Speed-ups continued throughout the 1840s. Operatives who once tended two looms at a time were expected to tend four by the mid 1840s. Articles responding to the changes in *The Voice of Industry* pointed out that far from losing money, the Boston Associates were increasing revenues at the expense of the operatives. The newspaper printed statistics on women's wages, factory dividends, yards of cloth produced, number of employees, and numbers of spindles in operation in 1844 and 1845.

A *Voice of Industry* article claimed corporate dividends in the Lowell mills increased almost 200 percent between the two years, then stated, "This is the natural result of the state of things in New England. — The more wealth becomes concentrated in a few hands, the poorer the great mass becomes."[77] Mill records supported the newspaper's claim. Between 1840 and 1843, Lowell's mills had indeed suffered a downturn in profits, recording between 2.3 to 7.9 percent decreases in profits. The factories rebounded between 1844-46. Profits rose substantially, ranging from 17.1 and 19.1 percent, during those years.[78]

Not surprisingly, then, the two wage decreases which occurred between 1841 and 1845 angered workers. An operative named Sarah who wrote about operatives' wages in the first issue of *The Factory Girl's Album and Operatives' Advocate* echoed the working class' concern that employers were profiting at the expense of workers:

> Her industry is to be commended—she toils from morning until night at the loom, or on some portion of the work which goes to make up the whole. But does she receive an adequate pay for her services? Not so. Her pay is too little in comparison to the profits derived from the work; and when it is taken into consideration that oftentimes the health is destroyed by over work, it must be acknowledged that the employer receives too much, the operative too little.[79]

The journal's editors and writers regularly spoke out about wages, often providing facts and figures for its readers. A June 1846 article stated, for example: "Think of girls being obliged to labor 13 hours each working day, for a net compensation of two cents per hour, which is above the average net wages, being $1.56 per week. Two cents per hour for severe labor!"[80]

Even the normally silent *Lowell Offering* found its voice on the wage issue. An October 1843 editorial noted, ". . . it is much easier to instill a feeling of self-respect, of desire for excellence, among a well-paid, than an ill-paid class of operatives. There is a feeling of independence, a desire to form and retain a good character, a wish to do something for others."[81] The staff of *The Factory Girl's Album and Operatives' Advocate* went further, lobbying for equal pay for women. "The labor of one person ought to command the same price as the labor of another person, provided it be done as well and in the same time, whether the laborer be man or woman."[82]

The publications also occasionally commented on differences between factory and farm labor. For the first time in their lives, these formerly rural women had their lives governed by the clock. Many chafed at the system of factory bells which woke them, freed them for meal breaks, and sent them home at night. Even the editors of *The Lowell Offering*, who rarely commented on labor conditions, published an article titled "The Spirit of Discontent" in 1841, by an operative who stated, "Up before day, at the clang of the bell—and out of the mill by clang of the bell—into the mill, and at work in obedience to that ding-dong of a bell—just as though we were so many living machines."[83]

Similarly, *The Factory Girl's Garland* reprinted a resolution from Peterboro, New Hampshire, workers who called for factory managers to end the practice of requiring workers to arrive at their stations before dawn and continue until after dusk: "*Resolved*, That although the evening and morning is spoken of in Scripture . . . no mention is made of an evening in the morning. We therefore conclude that the practice of lighting up in the morning and thereby making two evenings in every 24 hours is not only oppressive but unscriptural." An article in *The Factory Girl's Garland* stated "We trust the girls . . . will rise up against this outrageous custom."[84] Behind the workers' concerns also was the reality that oil lamps polluted the air, increasing both the temperature in the mills and the fire risk.[85]

The journals disappeared in the early 1850s as the mill town went into protracted declines spurred by overproduction, causing native New Englanders to leave the mills in large numbers. Their Irish replacements did not continue the publications or start their own.[86]

Although these publication only lasted for a decade, their importance to labor history, women's history, and communication should not be trivialized. These periodicals were not only the nation's first factory publications, but they were written and edited predominantly by women. The journals provided vehicles for women's literary aspirations and also allowed them to voice their discontent at industry conditions. Behind their concerns was a growing awareness that class distinctions had emerged permanently in society and furthermore, that the working classes were governed for the first time by a system of wage labor based on supply and demand.[87]

Like their counterparts, the artisans' and mechanics' press, the labor-oriented operatives' publications tried to rally the working classes into a unified whole on issues such as wages, hours of labor, and working conditions. Editors also sought solidarity to unite workers against middle-class hegemony. Both the genteel and the labor publications told readers that the key to middle class acceptance was education for the working class as a whole.

Although the pro-labor operatives' publications denounced the emerging class distinctions as in opposition to the nation's perceived egalitarian origins, many operatives viewed themselves as a separate, distinct class. Female factory operatives responded to their changing social, economic, and political environment with a mix of both rural and urban philosophies. While welcoming the machine age and hoping to fit into the emerging urban industrial society, the factory girls clung firmly to their Puritan values and the Revolutionary War rhetoric of their fathers and grandfathers. They blended their rural beliefs with the realities of urban industrial life to argue that women who worked should be allowed entry into middle class. Rather than viewing middle class entrance in financial terms, these operatives judged individuals based on character and ability. The pro-labor journal's image of the acceptable woman—one who was employed, intelligent, physically fit, self-sufficient, and financially self-reliant—was largely in opposition to the middle-class vision of true womanhood.

Hopefully more scholars will discover these early female voices. A comprehensive study of all antebellum labor publications—produced by both males and females—is necessary to properly assess the role these early women's publications had in establishing and promoting 19th century labor issues and rhetoric.

Endnotes

[1]E. R., "10 Hour System," *The Voice of Industry*, 15 May 1846, 4.

[2]C. K. McFarland and Robert L. Thistlethwaite, "20 Years of a Sucessful Labor Paper: The Working Man's Advocate, 1829-48, " *Journalism Quarterly*, vol. 60 (1) (Spring 1983): 35.

[3]Hundreds of small mills existed in New England, however, the publications emerged inthe towns where the Boston Manufacturing Company, and other corporations which mirrored the Boston Associates' practices, established planned factory communities where women employees predominated. For more on the smaller factories, see: Jonathan Prude, "The Social System of Early New England Textile Mills: A Case Study, 1812-40," in Herbert G. Gutman and Donald H. Bell, eds., The New England Working Class and the New Labor History (Urbana: University of illinois Press, 1987).

[4]John R. Commons, et al., *History of Labour inthe United States* 4 vols. (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1926), 1:181.

[5]The *Operatives' Magazine* was jointly published in 1845 in both Lowell and Manchester, N. H. Similarly, *The Factory Girl* was jointly published in New Market and Exeter, N.H. *The Voice of Industry* began again breifly in June 1848 under the title,*New Era of Industry.* Its exact publishing histiry is uncertain. Lobor historian Philip Foner, in his work *Women and the American Lobor Movement*, also makes reference to a factory girl publication call the *Factory Girl's Voice.* No record of it could be found inany library or research institute despite extensive searching.

Unfortunately, little is known of the women who wrote for the magazines, with the exception of those who wrote for *The Lowell Offering. Offering* writer Harriet Robinson's biography, *Loom and Spindle*, discusses those women—approximately 70—in some length, particularly those who went onto literary careers after leaving the mills. The rest of the mill girl writers—even an actual count of numbers—remain unknown. Fearful of losing their jobs, many wished to remain anonymous and signed their articles only by their initials or first names.

[6]Charles Dickens, *American Notes And Pictures From Italy* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1871), vol.2, 67. Similarly, another prominent British visitor, the Reverend William Scoresby, vicar of Bradford, Yorkshire, marvelled that female operatives would produce such a magazine, calling it "an incident so curious and novel." See: William Scoresby, *American Factories And Their Female Operatives; With An Appeal On Behalf Of The British Factory Population, And Suggestions For The Improvement Of Their Condiiton,* (London; Longman, Broan, Green, Longmans, 1845; reprint, New York; Burt Franklin,1968), 69 (page reference is to reprint edition).

[7]Only a few historians have examined the other factory publications. See: Bertha Monica Stearns, "New England Magazines for Ladies," *New England Quarterly*, 3 (October 1930): 627-659. Philip S. Foner, ed., *The Factory Girls* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press,1977).

[8]McFarland and Thistlethwaite, "The Working Man's Advocate:" 39-40; C.K. McFarland and Robert L. Thistlethwaite, "Labor Press Demands Equal Education In the Age of Jackson," *Journalism Quarterly*, vol. 65 (3) (Fall 1988): 600-608.

[9]Barbara M. Tucker, *Samuel Slater and the Origins of the American Textile Industry, 1790-1860* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984).

[10]Thomas Bender, *Toward An Urban Vision: Ideas and Institutions in 19th Century America* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1975), 32. Twenty two mills existed in Lowell by 1835. That number increased to 502 by 1855. Approximately 8,800 women and 4,400 men helped produce 2.25 million yards of cloth each week in Lowell, alone. See: Walter Licht, *Industrializing America* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1987).

[11]For a history of the Boston Associates, see: Robert F. Dalzell, Jr. *Enterprising Elite: The Boston Associates and the World They Made* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987).

[12]Bender, *Toward An Urban Vision*, 35.

[13]Licht, *Industrializing America*, 58. For a contemporary account of operatives' desire to earn money, see: "Factory Girls," *The Lowell Offering*, December 1840, 17.

[14]Dalzell, *Enterprising Elite*, 26-74.

[15]A number of the journals addressed boarding house issues. For one of the lengthier articles, see: "Factory Boarding Houses," *The Voice Of Industry*, 25 September 1845, 2.

[16]Licht, *Industrializing America*, 58.

[17]Philip S. Foner, *Women and the American Labor Movement* (New York: International Publishers, 1979), 35.

[18]Licht, *Industrializing America*, 58

[19] Philip S. Foner, *History Of The Labor Movement in the United States*, vol. 1 (New York: International Publishers, 1975), 196.

[20]No Headline, *The Factory Girl's Album and Operatives' Advocate*, 14 February 1846, 2.

[21]"Editorial," *The Lowell Offering*, vol. III (1843), 282.

[22]No headline, *The Olive Leaf, And Factory Girl's Repository*, 25 April 1843, 14.

[23] "Our Financial Affairs," *The Voice Of Industry*, 20 November 1846, 2.

[24]Edith Abbott, *Women In Industry: A Study in American Economic History* (New York: D. Appleton, 1910), 112-113.

[25]Licht, *Industrializing America*, 47.

[26]McFarland and Thistlethwaite, "20 Years of a Sucessful Labor Paper," 37.

[27]David R. Roediger and Philip S. Foner, *Our Own Time: A History of American Labor and the Working Day* (New York: Verso, 1989), 7.

[28]Roediger and Foner, *Our Own Time*, 44.

[29]Roediger and Foner, *Our Own Time*, vii.

[30]A commonly-held belief at the time—the ideal of "true womanhood" —held that women were more tender and delicate than men. See: Frances B. Cogan, *All-American Girl: The Ideal of Real Womanhood in Mid-19th Century America* (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 1989),3.

[31] "Lowell Factories," *The Voice Of Industry*, 26 December 1845, 2. See also: "Evils of The Factory System," *The Factory Girl's Album and Mechanic's Offering*, 2.

[32] "Hours Of Labor In England And The United States," *The Voice Of Industry*, 19 February 1847, 4.

[33] "To The People Of the United States," *The Voice Of Industry*, 19 February 1847, 4.

[34]McFarland and Thistlewaite, "Labor Press Demands Equal Education," 601.

[35]H.J. Stone, "Our Real Necessities," *The Voice Of Industry*, 18 September 1845, 3.

[36] "Lowell Girls—Standing At The Gate," *The Voice Of Industry*, 7 May 1847, 2.

[37] Elfrieda B. McCauley, "The New England Mill Girls: Feminine Influence In The Development Of Public Libraries In New England, 1820-1860" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1971), 282.

[38]Abbott, *Women In Industry*, 117.

[39] "The 10-hour System," *The Factory Girl's Album and Operatives' Advocate*, 28 Febraury 1846, 3.

[40] "Another Change," *The Factory Girl's Album and Mechanics' Offering*, 5 December 1846.

[41] "10-hour System Again," *The Factory Girl's Album and Mechanics' Offering*, 19 September 1846, 2.

[42] "Evils Of The Factory System," *The Factory Girl's Album and Mechanic's Offering*, 17 October 1846, 2. Compare this rhetoric to that of the genteel publications. See, for example, "Duties and Rights of Mill Girls," *The New England Offering*, May 1848, 48.

[43]No headline, *The Voice Of Industry*, 13 November 1846, 3.

[44] "How Will The Operatives Employ Their Time?" *The Voice Of Industry*, 18 June 1847, 3.

[45] Licht, *Industrializing America*, 74; Foner, *Women and the American Labor Movement*, 73.

[46]No headline, *The Voice Of Industry*, 24 April 1846, 3.

[47]"10 hours, 10 Hours!!" *The Voice Of Industry*, 26 December 1845, 3.

[48] Roediger and Foner, *Our Own Time*, 55.

[49]Walter Licht notes the 1845 petition had more than 5,000 signatures. See: *Industrializing America*, 60.

[50]Foner, *Women and the American Labor Movement*, 78.

[51]"10-hour System," 4.

[52] "All Hail New Hampshire," *The Voice of Industry*, 9 July 1847, 2.

[53]Roediger and Foner, *Our Own Time*, 78.

[54] "Editorial," *The Lowell Offering*, November 1842, 48.

[55] "Duties and Rights of Mill Girls," 3.

[56] "Editorial: The Aim of the Offering," *The Lowell Offering*, vol. V (1845), 22-23. Also see: "Editorial," *The Lowell Offering*, August 1843, 284.

[57] "Editorial," *The Lowell Offering*, May 1845, 191.

[58] "Editorial," *The Lowell Offering*, September 1844, 262.

[59] "Editor's Valedictory," *The Lowell Offering*, December 1842, 380.

[60]Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," *American Quarterly*, vol. 18 (Summer 1966): 151-174; Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: 'Woman's Sphere' in New England, 1780-1835* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977).

[61] "Editorial Corner: Plants and Flowers In the Mills," *The Lowell Offering*, October 1840, 32.

[62] "Editor's Table," *The New England Offering*, June 1848, 71.

[63] "Factory Girls," *The Lowell Offering*, December 1840, 17.

[64] "Editor's Table," *The New England Offering*, July 1848, 95.

[65]Quoted in Helen L. Summer, *History of Women in Industry in the United States* (New York: Arno Press, 1974), 90.

[66]*The Voice of Industry* regularly referred to operatives as a working class. See, for example, "The Editor of the Voice, and Ourself," 15 May 1846, 2. Compare this to "Editorial," *The Lowell Offering*, September 1844, 262.

[67]Foner, *History of the Labor Movement*, 193.

[68]McFarland and Thistlewaite, "20 Years of a Sucessful labor Paper," 36-37.

[69] "To Our Friends And Readers," *The Voice Of Industry*, 7 November 1845, 2.

[70]Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood," 151-153.

[71]Sarah, "Aristocracy," *The Factory Girl's Album and Operatives' Advocate*, 14 February 1846, 2.

[72]N. L., "The 10-Hour System," *The Factory Girl's Album and Operatives' Advocate*, 28 March 1846, 2.

[73] "Factory Girls," *The Lowell Offering*, December 1840, 17.

[74] "Duties and Rights of Mill Girls," 102-103.

[75] "High Wages," *The Factory Girl's Album and Operatives' Advocate*, 6 June 1846, 2; "Ventilation," *The Voice of Industry*, 27 August 1847, 4.

[76]Roediger and Foner, *Our Own Time*, 51.

[77] "The Factory System," *The Voice Of Industry*, 19 June 1845, 4.

[78]Dalzell, *Enterprising Elite*, 52.

[79]Sarah, "Aristocracy," *The Factory Girl's Album and Operatives' Advocate*, 14 Febraury 1846, 2.

[80] "The Operatives' Life," *The Factory Girl's Album and Operatives' Advocate*, 20 June 1846, 2.

[81] "Editorial," *The Lowell Offering*, October 1843, 48.

[82] "Female Labor," *The Factory Girl's Album and Operatives' Advocate*, 25 April 1846, 2.

[83]Almira, "The Spirit of Discontent," *The Lowell Offering*, vol. 1 (1841), 114.

[84]Roediger and Foner, *Our Own Time*, 51.

[85]Roediger and Foner, *Our Own Time*, 51.

[86]H. M. Gitelman, "The Waltham System And The Coming Of The Irish," *Labor History*, vol. 8 (3) (Fall 1967): 227-253.

[87]Bender, *Toward An Urban Vision*, 64.

Dissent and Control in a Woman Suffrage Periodical: 30 Years of the *Wisconsin Citizen*

By Elizabeth V. Burt

This article finds that, contrary to the expectation that reform publications provide a place in the "marketplace of ideas" for reformers excluded from the mainstream press, the Wisconsin Citizen *often suppressed debate among its constituents in the interest of maintaining an appearance of unity within the movement and the dominance of movement leaders.*

Ignored, excluded and ridiculed by the mainstream press, reform organizations and social movements often establish their own publications in the attempt to reach the public with their message.[1] Scholars analyzing these publications have found they typically seek to inform the general public of the goals and developments within a reform or social movement and also serve as vital channels of information for members of the movement who are often geographically separated. In this role, reform and social movement publications act as community bulletin boards for their constituencies. They announce upcoming activities, call for action and activism, report progress or setbacks, and record structural changes within the social movement organization.[2] As historian Lauren Kessler notes in regard to feminist periodicals, they serve as "organizational tools, morale boosters, consciousness-raisers, philosophical and political forums, and propaganda organs."[3] One of their

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major functions, according to historian Jean Folkerts, is to form "the core of a communications network" that helps members of the movement develop a sense of community.[4]

As noted by social movement scholars, various constituencies within a social movement often differ as to basic ideologies as well as tactics and strategies for achieving the movement's goals. Unless resolved, these differences can splinter the movement into separate factions, which can lead to duplication of effort at best and disempowerment and delegitimization at the worst.[5] These divisions can sometimes be discerned in the various publications issued by different groups or factions within a social movement. The split within the anti-slavery movement over Constitutional or extra-Constitutional reform, for example, can be found in the opposing positions taken by William Lloyd Garrison and Frederick Douglass in the pages of their respective publications, the *Liberator* and the *North Star*.[6] In the case of the suffrage movement, the more than two dozen suffrage periodicals published over the years by a variety of state and national organizations presented varying and sometimes conflicting concepts of womanhood and woman's role as a citizen.[7]

Another important role of social movement publications, therefore, is often that of mediator among factions. They may attempt to resolve discord by publishing the actual debate between conflicting constituencies, thus airing the debate and publicly seeking participation and eventual resolution. This could be facilitated by the sheer number or variety of publications within a social movement, each adding its voice to the debate. It also could be facilitated by individual publications willing to air diverse views. The *Genius of Liberty*, the feminist journal published by Elizabeth A. Aldrich from 1851 to 1853, for example, welcomed diverse positions, including those opposing Aldrich's. This policy was announced to readers, in fact, in Aldrich's promise: "[*Genius of Liberty*] is not one's but belongs to ALL; every one will be heard in her own style, principle and want..."[8]

Dissenting Views May Be Suppressed

Not all social movement publications are so magnanimous, however. Because they are often dominated by one or more leaders of the movement, in fact, their views often reflect those of these leaders.[9] Especially in cases where the prevailing views of the movement's leaders are being challenged within the movement, those dissenting views may be suppressed. In these cases, those aware of the conflict may find evidence of

dissent in its *exclusion* from rather than its *inclusion* in the social movement publication. As textual scholars point out, what is *missing* in the record is sometimes as important as what is *included*.[10]

This article examines the *Wisconsin Citizen*, which from 1887 to 1917 served as the official organ of the Wisconsin Woman Suffrage Association and for much of that time succeeded in managing the various conflicts within the movement. First the article provides a brief review of the long campaign for woman suffrage in Wisconsin and the founding of the *Wisconsin Citizen*. Next, the article examines how the editors of the publication attempted to control the various controversies within the movement and then how those controversies were reflected (or not) in its pages. In conclusion, the author discusses the role of dissent within a social movement and considers whether the free expression of such dissent serves as a positive or negative factor in the health of the movement.

Women Organize in Wisconsin

Woman suffrage was first considered and rejected in Wisconsin at the territory's first and second constitutional conventions in 1846 and 1848.[11] It was not until 1867 that suffragists began to organize, and in the next year women suffragists created the Wisconsin Woman Suffrage Association (WWSA) with physician Laura Ross as its first president. Like suffrage associations formed in other states and territories, the association had a sporadic existence during its early years. Chapters in a dozen communities scattered across the sparsely settled state met irregularly, rallying briefly to descend on the state capitol to lobby for suffrage legislation. They had no official organ during these years, relying instead on the pro-suffrage *Wisconsin Chief*, a temperance sheet published in Fort Atkinson from 1856 to 1889 by Emma Brown, and the Boston-based *Woman's Journal*, established by the American Woman Suffrage Association in 1870.[12]

The WWSA was energized in 1884 when the Reverend Olympia Brown assumed the presidency.[13] A veteran organizer, the 49-year-old Brown immediately launched a campaign for a woman suffrage amendment to the state constitution. A suffrage bill was eventually passed by both the state legislature and the required popular referendum, but when women attempted to vote in the elections of 1887, they were told they could only vote in elections on *school issues*.[14]

Brown brought the case to court, and between hearings toured the state to gather popular support. It was during this period, in 1887, that

she established the *Wisconsin Citizen* to counter "newspaper sensationalism and idle or malicious gossip" being provided by the general circulation press. Despite her attempts, the case was lost.[15]

Brown remained the president of the WWSA until 1913 and saw to it that the *Wisconsin Citizen* continued publication. Under her leadership, the WWSA proposed suffrage legislation in the state capital during nearly every session, but it was not until 1911 that a bill for full suffrage was passed in both houses. The bill, however, also needed to pass a popular referendum, to be held November 1912. During the ensuing 19-month campaign, a group of younger suffragists challenged Brown's leadership of the Wisconsin movement. They established a second suffrage organization, the Political Equality League, frequently referred to as the PEL.[16]

Despite a vigorous and highly publicized campaign, the 1912 referendum was defeated. Recognizing the need for unity, the WWSA and PEL resolved their differences, reunited under a reorganized WWSA, and replaced their leadership. The 78-year-old Brown grudgingly yielded the presidency; her place was eventually taken by journalist Theodora Winton Youmans, the former press organizer for the PEL. In 1914 Youmans became editor of the *Wisconsin Citizen.*[17]

Under Youmans' leadership and national directives from the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA), the WWSA gradually shifted its focus toward campaigning for a national rather than a state suffrage amendment.[18] Despite this concentration of effort elsewhere, the WWSA routinely introduced suffrage bills to the Wisconsin legislature and in 1919 a bill for presidential suffrage was approved by both the legislature and the governor. In the same year, before that state law could take effect, the federal suffrage amendment was passed by Congress, and Wisconsin was the first state to ratify. Thus, in 1920, Wisconsin women were able to vote for the first time in all elections.[19]

Wisconsin Citizen Provides a Voice

Like many reform and social movement publications, the *Wisconsin Citizen* was established to provide a voice for the ideas of a minority social or political reform at a time when those ideas were often silenced or ridiculed in the general circulation press.[20] "Modest in appearance but brave in its [intentions]," an article proclaimed in the first issue, "this little sheet comes before the public for the purpose of setting forth some of the work, industrial and reformatory, in which the unrecognized citizens of this State are engaged."[21]

THE WISCONSIN CITIZEN.

"IN UNION THERE IS STRENGTH."

VOL. II. RACINE, WISCONSIN, MAY, 1889. NO. 8

DIRECTORY.

WISCONSIN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION — WOMANHOOD — MANHOOD — EQUALITY — INCORPORATED 1867.

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The Wisconsin Citizen will be published monthly by the Press Committee of the Wis. W. S. A. Subscription price, 25 cents per annum.

Persons may become members of the Wisconsin Woman's Suffrage Association by paying a yearly fee of fifty cents and signing the Constitution.

All communications for publication in this paper should be received by the 20th of the month. Address Mrs. M. P. Dudley, Racine, Wis.

Arrangements have been made for delivering The Citizen. Persons failing to receive it before the middle of each month should notify Mrs. Lizzie Davis Webster, of Racine, the chairman of committee for mailing the paper.

Contributions and advertisements solicited.

Subscribe for The Citizen and help to farther a good cause.

The List of Meetings.

The list of meetings given with the first of the present month and continues uninterruptedly till the middle of June. It is to be hoped that the people in the various localities will attend the meetings and interest their friends to do so. We must work without ceasing. No such great boon as liberty is to be attained without difficulty.

Education and Heredity.

So much importance is laid upon heredity, inherited tendencies, that it may be well to call attention to this subject, to inquire if it be and must ever be a sort of fore ordination. The sins of the parent, and the virtues also, are seen in the children through the generations; but education can do much toward regulating these tendencies, by so stimulating the desirable qualities and ignoring or suppressing the undesirable, by the lack of support they disappear.

The educator is to physician and his services must be secured early in life before the germs have attained a strong growth. The observant mother will note in her child the traits of its ancestors, and considering the future development of those tendencies will know which to check and which to encourage. Too often it is said "that cannot be helped it is an inherit ance," like the old doctrine of predestination, something beyond human direction. Fortunately that idea of fatality is no longer strong in the world. The hope of the philanthropist must be in the kindergarten. As the gardener tends his plants, pruning and discarding all but the best, and by cultivation improving the stock until from the simple wild flower, sphoroid in its beauty, we have the full petalled magnificent display which our florists whisper present, so in the children's garden the teacher watches and prunes away the objectionable growth.

As the great beauty of the flower is not attained in one season, neither must we expect in the human garden to see great results in one generation. Slowly the human soul expands and rises out of its earth bound conditions. The first instrument man uses the right mechanism, dropping behind all of the past that has a hold for evil and with patience infinite, work for results which may be apparent only in the future. Heredity binds with strong cords, but education loosens the fetters and directs which shall be dropped and which strengthened.

Women are the principal educators, with them lies largely the destiny of the world. Whether they choose to accept responsibility or not, it is upon them; and they are not only the educators of childhood but of maturity, for none ever grow too old to learn. Human laws are the results of education, and whether or not the symbol of power is given to women, they have power and though they may say, they do not wish to take upon themselves responsibility, the responsibility is upon them and they cannot throw it off. There are sins of omission as of commission.

A bill is now pending in the House which provides that all native or naturalized women citizens of twenty one years of age or over who are in possession of a tax receipt can vote on all questions the same as men. If it becomes a law, the majority of the women of Dakota will become enfranchised, as most of them possess some taxable property.

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Official Seals.

Seals affixed to documents be. Seen in use from remote antiquity. There must be to give authority or to establish the genuineness of the articles to which they are attached, it being quite to considered a signature alone than in connection with a seal. During the medieval period great importance was attached to their use. They were made with great care, with different devices and of different materials; metals, gems, ivory and wax were used. They were used by ecclesiastical, royal and private purposes. Great precaution was observed to prevent them being counterfeited. The seal of the monastery of Mount Athos is divided into four parts, one of which is kept by each of four religious monks, the pieces are joined by a key handle which is in the care of the superior. It is only when all four of these guardians come together that the complete seal can be stamped upon any document. Ecclesiastical seals first appeared in the ninth century. The stamp which makes the impression, and the impression are both known as seals, they are of great variety and are usually emblematical of some event in history or symbolic of the country. The finest styles of seals is found in France, the different orders have had different devices upon their seals. Until 1198 seals were always pendent but Louis VI. introduced pendant seals hung by cords or bands. Seals were not used in England until after the Norman conquest.

Soon after the Declaration of Independence established our Republic, and the United States became a nation. Congress appointed Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson a committee to prepare the design for a seal. They employed an artist and formulated several designs, which Jefferson considered as one and the committee reported, but probably through neglect the report was not acted upon. Three years after another committee was appointed for this purpose, they reported in 1780 but this device was not acceptable, even a third committee failed to satisfy Congress. It was then referred to the Secretary, but he succeeded no better than the committees had done, finally John Adams, when in London, sent to the Secretary a device suggested by a lawsuit in the west of England (Sir John Pre (with) a friend of America), and an antiquarian. It consisted of an escutcheon bearing thirteen perpendicular stripes white and red, with the chief blue and spangled with thirteen stars, and to make it more impressive he proposed to place it on the breast of an American eagle, displayed without support as emblematical of self reliance. The eagle holds in his right talon an olive branch and on his left a bundle of thirteen arrows, and in his beak a scroll inscribed with the motto *E Pluribus Unum*. For the crest over the head of the eagle, which appears above the escutcheon, a golden glory breaking through a cloud and surrounding thirteen stars forming a constellation of white stars on a blue field. The reverse side is a pyramid unfinished. In the zenith an eye in a triangle, surrounded with a glory. Over the eye the words *Annuit Cœptis*, "God has favored the undertaking." On the base of pyramid are the Roman numerals MDCCLXXVI and underneath the motto *Novus Ordo Seclorum*, "A new Series of Ages" denoting that a new order of things began in the western hemisphere. A beautiful sentiment, but many failures. The suggestion of the Englishman became real and yet remains the arms of United States. Until recently the seal when stamped upon documents, was all by placing melted wax, upon the paper and pressing the seal upon it, thus obtaining an impression of it. As business increased and time became more valuable Congress passed an act making it legal to affix the seal, by making the impression directly upon the paper. The care of the great seal of our country devolves on the Secretary of State and it is his duty to affix it to all civil commissions issued officers appointed by the President Senate or by the President alone; but forbidden to be affixed before the bill that has signed the document. Each the Secretary of the great departments has a seal of office which he is to affix to all commissions issued from the to fice offices. A title to land obtained the United States must have the seal the land office; a patent must be with the seal of the patent office. An interesting history may be learned the seals of different nations and different times. The early designs are crude, but sublimational.

"The drink evil will never be annihilated we have the vote of women I reason—often thoroughly appreciate the liquor dealers and acted upon by too. For the sake of this one cause the overthrow of the drink traffic, nothing of our duty in every good which the vote can promote—a woman just as much and for precisely same reasons as a man's—for the same silence it is our duty to use our right of suffrage that we shall in no manner the consciousness of all women, and to so sting and quicken self respect of those men whose life unquestionably influenced and guided by us—our fathers, husbands, and sons—that they will neither do nor can respect or love that we wish to do, and as they need—need that we should, unless they will by and earnestly do all in their power help us in removing the shame. The first instance, but ones also no. Know more than we did of our duty. We must work with patience and determination, and persistence as courteous as unflinching. The ignorant, timid, silent prejudiced, selfish, and indifferent own see until every one of them over to the clear realization of this duty. They, that their children, the whole race—men almost more profoundly than women need the full enfranchisement of women.

It is our duty to push this matter franchise rights and responsibility logically, so forcibly, so unceasingly every proper available means, and intelligent devising of new means, the whole earnestness and dignity of a band shall be seen and felt with blessing, convincing power, grasp strong, and not to be gainsaid. It duty to do this until we succeed. It duty to succeed; it is our duty to succeed."

The front page of *The Wisconsin Citizen* as it appeared in May 1889.

From that moment in 1887 until its last issue was published in 1917, the *Wisconsin Citizen* served as the official voice of the Wisconsin woman suffrage movement. The paper was between four and eight pages in length, was available for a subscription price of 25 cents a year, and was published first as a monthly, occasionally as a bimonthly, and finally as a quarterly.[22] Its circulation varied over the years, sinking to as low as 70 in 1902 to perhaps as high as 250 in 1914.[23] For its first 26 years the *Citizen* was published under a series of editors chosen by Olympia Brown and, indeed, was often referred to as "Mrs. Brown's paper." In its last four years it was published under the editorship of WWSA president Theodora Winton Youmans.[24] An accomplished journalist, Youmans was an assistant editor of her husband's weekly newspaper, the *Waukesha Freeman*, where she also wrote a weekly suffrage column. Publication of the *Citizen* was discontinued in January 1917, at which time it was replaced with a typed bulletin mailed to more than 100 newspapers throughout the state until 1920.[25]

The *Wisconsin Citizen* kept suffragists up to date on the latest suffrage developments in Wisconsin as well as in other states, reported news concerning state and national suffragists, and commented on press coverage of the movement. It chronicled the advance of woman suffrage, praised its champions, and lashed out against its opponents. It heralded the advances and successes of women, argued for more access to education and the professions, and in general supported the broad platform of women's rights. It attempted, in its own words, to serve as a "text book for the instruction of women in the methods and principles of... government."[26]

For most of its years of publication, the *Citizen* focused on suffrage in Wisconsin, but it occasionally addressed other issues affecting women such as labor and divorce laws, white slavery, and child labor. Debates on specific topics ran from issue to issue, frequently using members' letters and references to articles that had appeared in the general press. Poems and the verses of suffrage songs were printed and even an occasional cartoon appeared.[27]

Like other reform publications, the *Wisconsin Citizen* did not always present a seamless account of a well-organized and unified movement; it also served as a window to some of the controversies that raged within the suffrage movement. The window, however, was opaque. Although the *Citizen* allowed some of the debate over these controversies to appear on its pages, more often than not this debate was suppressed to create an appearance of unity. Only a close examination of the publication reveals

evidence of these controversies, often revealed by innuendo or omission. Examination of organizational correspondence and contemporary accounts, on the other hand, reveal that three major areas of contention existed over the years. These were the nature of campaign strategies and tactics, leadership of the organization, and support of a national rather than state suffrage amendment.[28]

Dissent over Campaign Strategies and Leadership

Debate over campaign strategies often led to conflict within the Wisconsin woman suffrage movement, and this debate was closely linked to the nature of the movement's leadership. When Brown became president in 1884, she pumped new energy into the organization. Trained as a minister, Brown was not only a superb speaker, but also was an activist who was not afraid to get out among the general population to promote her ideas.[29] After the disappointing court decision in 1889, however, Brown failed to maintain this energy. In the years between 1889 and 1902, county chapters died off, meetings were held rarely, and annual conventions were attended only by a loyal cadre. In some years, in fact, the *Wisconsin Citizen* was the only evidence of a surviving suffrage sentiment among Wisconsin women.[30]

In these years, Brown contented herself with periodic appearances before state legislators, trips to Washington, and regular columns in the *Citizen*. In late 1910, however, her routine was shattered when a group of younger women within the WWSA challenged her low-key campaign tactics which, they charged, had brought "meager results."[31] In an effort to pacify this group, Brown reluctantly accepted an offer by Mary Swain Wagner, an ambitious suffragist from New York, to hold meetings throughout the state and to organize a lecture bureau at her own expense. Little of Brown's reluctance was initially reflected in the *Citizen*. In its October 1910 report of the organization's annual meeting, the publication simply recorded that Wagner's proposal had been "favorably discussed," that the board had authorized it, and that Brown was "pleased" with the plan for additional suffrage meetings.[32]

Wagner Plots to Oust Brown

Within just a few months, however, Wagner was plotting with younger members of the WWSA to oust Brown from the presidency.[33]

She challenged Brown openly in suffrage meetings and made the controversy even more public by giving interviews to the press in which she called Brown and her contemporaries within the WWSA "doddering females."[34] At first the *Citizen* addressed the challenge indirectly. In the March 11 issue, in a signed column entitled "An Explanation," Brown defended her campaign tactics without being too specific or mentioning Wagner:

> The writer understands that the Wisconsin Woman's Suffrage Association has been criticized on the ground that so few of its officers have been in Madison this season interviewing legislators. Now it is most desirable that we show the legislators that we desire the ballot and that we are watching the attitude of every member on this subject and that we give them all information possible. But we can overdo this sort of work. It is not agreeable to men, nor does it conduce to the advancement of our cause to be always nagging and buttonholing members in regard to it.... We have never neglected our legislature but have always sent literature. The chairman of our legislative committee... has had opportunities of speaking to members in a quiet and unobtrusive way.... The president of the society has been in constant communication with... members of the legislature.... On the whole the legislature has had plenty of attention and the criticism of our officers is very unjust.[35]

In a brief article in the same issue, the *Citizen* reported somewhat hopefully that Wagner had completed her work in Wisconsin and would "probably go to some other state."[36] Wagner did not leave Wisconsin, however, and unable to either remove her from the state campaign or silence her challenges, Brown complained bitterly to suffrage workers in personal correspondence.[37] In April she reported Wagner's demands in the *Citizen*. "[Wagner] wrote several letters demanding that the President of the association should at once send her resignation to her (not a member of the association, and a recent comer to the state) as she intended to reorganize the association or to organize an opposition to it," Brown told *Citizen* readers. "She accompanied her demand by threats and denunciations which applied to nearly all the officers of the association."[38]

Dissenters Form a Second Organization

Brown succeeded in maintaining the loyalty of the majority of the members and retained the presidency. She failed, however, to quell the rebellion. In April 1911 the dissenters formed a second suffrage organization, the Political Equality League, with former WWSA vice-president-at-large Ada James at its head.[39] The *Citizen* acknowledged the split only obliquely. In June 1911, for example, in a long article rallying support and contributions for the WWSA, Brown reported that there were in the state "a number of societies," "clubs," or "leagues" endorsing and even working for woman suffrage. These put some other subject with or even before suffrage, she warned, and only the WWSA had for many years alone stood for woman suffrage. "The ballot first, other things afterwards," she wrote. "We do not aspire to 'political equality.' We only ask for the ballot. Then political equality will come."[40] On the few occasions that the *Citizen* referred to the Political Equality League, it identified the organization as an opponent rather than an ally in the suffrage cause.[41]

The *Citizen* refused to acknowledge the Political Equality League for the duration of the campaign. Although the organization's campaign activities were highly visible and attracted public attention, they received no notice in the paper. Thus excluded from the *Citizen*, the PEL began to publish its own newsletter, the *Press Bulletin*, edited by Waukesha journalist and suffragist Theodora Winton Youmans. The *Bulletin* went out to some 500 state and regional newspapers and succeeded in getting stories in the state general circulation press and the national suffrage press.[42]

Throughout the 19-month campaign for the 1912 referendum, campaign strategies remained a major point of contention between the two suffrage organizations. Brown continued to insist on waging a low-profile campaign that would not arouse opposition, and waited until shortly before the November referendum before launching a more visible and active campaign.[43] The PEL, instead, organized motor tours, street rallies, and highly publicized debates—all activities that received coverage in the *Press Bulletin* and the general circulation press, but scant mention in the *Citizen*.[44]

Brown stubbornly held on to the WWSA presidency throughout the campaign, always attributing her position to the will of the membership. After the defeat of the 1912 referendum, however, old allies urged her to step aside so that the WWSA could reorganize under new leaders untainted by the recent rivalry. Brown reluctantly resigned her position as president.[45] Although it is clear from her private correspondence that she yielded unwillingly to pressure, the report that appeared in the *Citizen*

made it sound as if Brown had resigned voluntarily and for the noblest reasons:

> Rev. Olympia Brown declined election to the office of state President, which she has held for more than 20 years. It was not because she is old... Certainly it was not because of feebleness... But in absolutely refusing to be re-elected she was joined by all the old officers... to leave the way open for future coalition between the old state society and the political equality league which was formed at the opening of the recent campaign.[46]

WWSA and PEL Reach a Compromise

With Brown's resignation, the WWSA and the PEL were able to reach a compromise and agreed upon a revised constitution. After two false starts, the membership elected Youmans president. A journalist by profession, Youmans believed the *Citizen* should play a key role in the reorganization by easing the transition, healing the breach, and informing the membership of the changes. She began to publish a monthly "President's Letter," first signing these columns with her full name, "Theodora Winton Youmans," later simply with her initials, "T.W.Y." With these letters, she was able to subtly but constantly remind the membership of the change in the WWSA and her own role as president while at the same time analyzing the latest developments affecting the movement.[47]

But while Brown might have stepped down from the presidency, she still exerted indirect control over the *Citizen* through its editor Lena Newman, a loyal member of the old guard who had held the position since 1899. It soon became clear that with Newman as editor, Youmans' impact could be restrained through editorial decisions; although Youmans might express her ideas through her "President's Letter," she had no control over where the column would be placed in relation to other material, or what else might appear in the same edition. Brown continued to write signed columns for each issue and these often appeared on the front page, while Youmans' articles, even her "President's Letter," often appeared on the second or third.

Youmans Takes Control

Youmans succeeded in removing the last traces of Brown's control of the WWSA and the *Citizen* when Newman's contract with the WWSA

came up for renewal in late 1913. Pleading economic necessity and the need to make the *Citizen* more efficient, Youmans suggested its place of publication be moved from Brodhead, where Newman lived, to Waukesha, where it could be printed at the *Waukesha Freeman*. Since Youmans already worked at the *Freeman* as assistant editor, it would make perfect sense for her to become the *Citizen*'s editor. This was proposed as both a practical and financial improvement of the paper's production. At the same time, Youmans also proposed that the *Citizen*'s format and purpose be changed. The paper could either be reduced to an official bulletin for board members and county organization officials only, or it could be altered to serve as a source of news for the general press, much as the PEL's *Press Bulletin* had done during the 1911-1912 campaign.[48]

Brown did not willingly relinquish her control of the *Citizen* and, backed by her remaining supporters, vehemently opposed the changes. Despite her opposition, the board agreed to move the publication to Waukesha and appoint Youmans editor. It did not, however, approve the changes in format.[49] In the next issue of the *Citizen*, Youmans smoothly explained the change as part of the board's "general policy of concentrating the administrative work of the state association" and the desire to bring the various offices of the association "under one roof." She explained what was to become Newman's effective removal from the power structure as a voluntary step:

> Old friends of the *Wisconsin Citizen* will be pleased to learn that Miss Lena V. Newman, so long its faithful and efficient editor, has recently inherited land in North Dakota and expects to spend part of her time in that state. She retires from the editorship of this paper with a record of good work done and with the warm personal esteem of all Wisconsin suffragists.[50]

The uneasy transition from the old guard to the new was thus complete. Although Brown continued to publish occasional columns in the *Citizen* as honorary president, it was clear that her days of influence in the WWSA were over and her presence in the *Citizen* gradually faded.[51] As for the *Citizen*, it survived under Youmans until 1917 when, citing financial and organizational hardship, she reduced it to a single-page newsletter to be sent to the general circulation press.

National Versus State Suffrage

The debate over whether suffrage could best be attained through a state or federal amendment was another area of controversy that often

The Wisconsin Citizen.

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GOING TO NEW YORK.

I have a great piece of news for Citizen readers this month—at least it seems great to me. Both Mrs. Haight and myself are going to New York to work in the woman suffrage campaign for a month. I go to Rochester, leaving on September 25, and Mrs. Haight goes to Buffalo a week later. Mrs. Haight goes under contract with the Empire State Campaign Committee and I go as representative of the Wisconsin Woman's Suffrage association. At the meeting of the Executive board in this city recently a resolution was passed authorizing me to go and appropriating the necessary funds for expenses. This action was taken on the understanding that in woman suffrage work the welfare of one is the welfare of all. It is tremendously important for Wisconsin that New York shall win and our Executive board believes that in sending a worker to that state it is indirectly, but possibly most effectively, fighting its own battles, as well as adding its mite of assistance in the tremendous campaign the New York women are waging.

The Empire State Campaign committee represents the New York Woman Suffrage association, the Woman Suffrage party, the Collegiate league, the Equal Franchise society, the Men's League for Woman Suffrage. The work is divided into sections—press, publicity, organization, art, finance and literature. The state is divided into campaign districts, each with a general manager in charge, and each manager has a number of assistants. I have a letter from Mrs. Clements, chairman of the Seventh Congressional district, in which Rochester is located. Some idea of the comprehensive scope of the work may be inferred from Mrs. Clements' letter:

"We have arranged for a big Votes For Women week, beginning September 20. We start in Monday with an all-day speech from 10 a. m. to 10 p. m., with the following speakers: Josephine Shayne, Helen Todd, Jane Thompson, Alice Pierson, Mary Newcomb, and Mr. Perkins of Michigan. Following that each day there will be six factory meetings and six open-air meetings each night in different sections of the city. All of these meetings have to be advertised from house to house in the neighborhood. All of them have to have helpers for collections and distribution of literature and enrollments. In addition to this the Sozodont campaign starts Monday, with ten decorated store windows on Main street and two booths in two big department stores, each of which must have a capable woman in charge able to talk suffrage and answer questions.

A great parade is arranged for New York city October 23, at which workers from all parts of the state will be expected to assist.

It is extremely difficult for both Mrs. Haight and myself to leave just at this time, with the state convention and the congressional conferences coming on, but the smaller yields to the greater need. Miss Harriet Baiu, Kenosha, has kindly consented to take charge of headquarters work during our absence. She may be consulted as to details of the convention, the con-

MRS. HENRY M. YOUMANS
who has gone to New York to assist in the campaign in that state.

This September 1915 edition of *The Wisconsin Citizen* featured an article written by Mrs. Henry M. Youmans as well as a photograph of her.

threatened the unity of the Wisconsin movement. The first generation of feminists of the 1850s and 1860s had hoped to bring about woman suffrage on a national level and lobbied to include the concept of universal suffrage in the 14th Amendment. When that plan was defeated in 1868 and subsequent campaigns for a federal suffrage amendment were defeated, suffragists began to focus their energies on winning the right to vote state by state. Thus, while the federal amendment languished in Washington, state organizations lobbied for suffrage at the local level. In the meantime, the national suffrage associations, which united as the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) in 1890, kept a continued presence in the national capital. Whenever congressional action seemed imminent, the NAWSA would call on the state organizations for campaign workers.[52]

Like most other state suffrage associations, the WWSA divided its energies between campaigning for legislation in Wisconsin, supporting similar campaigns in other states, and sending delegates to Washington to lobby for a federal amendment. This diffusion of energy had both positive and negative effects on the Wisconsin movement. On the positive side, the WWSA had much to gain from the resources of the national movement and stronger state organizations. It was a series of lectures by Susan B. Anthony in 1867, for example, that sparked the surge of interest that led to the organization of the WWSA two years later. And in later years, the Wisconsin movement gained considerable support from other state suffrage organizations that contributed both funds and the services of suffrage workers such as Catherine McCulloch, Harriet Grim, Emma Smith DeVoe, and May Wright Sewall.[53]

On the negative side, participation in other state campaigns as well as the national campaign drained energy from the Wisconsin movement. After the 1890 defeat of the 1886 Wisconsin suffrage bill in the courts, for example, Brown was frequently absent from the state to devote her energy to lobbying for the federal suffrage amendment in Washington, D.C.. During these periods, as the membership in the WWSA gradually shrank, she administered the WWSA in absentia, delegating her daughter, Gwendolen B. Willis, to carry out some of her duties, including the production of the *Citizen*.[54] Similarly after NAWSA, in 1915, decided to devote all its energy to winning suffrage in key campaign states such as New York, Ohio, and Illinois, and to cut back in what it regarded as hopeless states such as Wisconsin, Youmans and other WWSA officials were frequently absent from the state for increasing periods.[55]

Disputes Often Not Reported

The decision to devote their energies elsewhere was not lightly reached and caused disputes among members that sometimes came to a head during the WWSA's annual conventions, when they were dutifully reported in the minutes of the convention published in the *Wisconsin Citizen*.[56] These disputes, however, more often were not reported in the paper. The diffusion of energy to outside campaigns, instead, can be discovered in the number of articles about campaigns being waged elsewhere as well as topics not even remotely connected to the state movement. Between 1901 and 1910, for example, when interest in the WWSA was at its lowest, only one or two columns per issue were devoted to local developments. The remainder of the paper typically carried articles and short items reprinted from other newspapers or suffrage publications.[57]

During the period of the 1910-1913 Wisconsin campaigns, the *Citizen* focused once again on local affairs. In these years the publication's pages were filled with news of the campaign for the suffrage bill and its victory in 1911, the campaign for the referendum and its defeat in 1912, and the proposal of a second bill in 1913.[58] But with the fate of this second bill still being debated in the legislature, the *Citizen* shifted its attention to the national front, where congress had just passed a joint resolution calling for the submission of a federal suffrage amendment.[59] In April 1913, with the Wisconsin bill awaiting the governor's approval (which was denied), the newly elected Youmans signaled this shift in her President's Letter:

> If the unexpected should happen and the measure [for the 1913 suffrage bill] should fail, we should still of course, continue our work, though in a somewhat different way. It is not always in so-called campaign states — that is those in which an election is pending — that the best campaign work is done. Witness the splendid efforts of the Chicago women, continued year after year, though the Illinois legislature has never passed a woman suffrage measure . . . . In any event, Wisconsin women must prepare for continued and vigorous activity in the suffrage cause . . . in whatever direction it may be exerted . . . .[60]

That "direction" was increasingly away from Wisconsin and toward other states. In the fall of 1915, for example, Youmans went for a month

to work for the Empire State Campaign in New York, leaving the *Citizen* under the temporary management of Harriet Bain. "This action was undertaken on the understanding that in woman suffrage work, the welfare of one is the welfare of all," Youmans explained in the *Citizen*. "It is tremendously important for Wisconsin that New York shall win . . . ."[61]

After Congress revived the Anthony Amendment in the same year, it became equally important to follow the federal amendment. Youmans frequently reported on the results of hearings and votes in Washington and in one article advised that local agitation should be directed toward the Wisconsin congressmen who would be voting on the amendment: "It is up to you, Madame Suffragist in Mr. Blank's district, to secure his vote for justice for women."[62]

For the next five years, Wisconsin organizers temporarily deserted the state for other campaigns, and these national activities were duly reported in the *Citizen*. (Likewise, the vacuum that resulted in state activism was reflected in the little mention given to state activities by the paper.) In late 1916, for example, Maude McCreery campaigned for two months in South Dakota. In early 1917, Alice H. Curtis was dispatched to New York City to work at the NAWSA headquarters. In late 1916 and again in early 1917 Jessie Jack Hooper left for Washington, D.C. to serve in NAWSA's congressional lobby.[63]

At the same time, some suffragists abandoned the WWSA to join Alice Paul's militant Congressional Union, which in 1916 became the National Woman's Party.[64] These out-of-state activities took a toll on the WWSA leadership, especially on Youmans. In addition to maintaining her position as editor of the *Citizen* and assistant editor of the *Freeman*, the WWSA president frequently found herself traveling between Waukesha, Milwaukee, Madison, New York and Washington for speaking engagements and campaign activities.[65]

One way for Youmans to reduce the workload was to streamline the WWSA organization and focus her energies on the campaign for the national amendment. Streamlining the WWSA had dire consequences for the *Wisconsin Citizen*, however, for Youmans returned to her earlier plan of changing the publication's format and publishing schedule. In June 1916, she reduced the *Citizen* from a monthly to a quarterly, and in January 1917 discontinued publication altogether. The newspaper was replaced with a one-sheet monthly bulletin to be sent monthly to some 100 state newspapers and local societies.[66] Youmans' rationale for this move was that since so little was actually happening on the Wisconsin front, suffrage developments could effectively be covered by this news

bulletin and the national suffrage publication, the *Woman Citizen*. Not a hint of the changes to come appeared in the pages of the final editions of the *Wisconsin Citizen*.[67]

WWSA Focus on the Federal Amendment

Although state suffrage bills continued to be submitted and heard in the Wisconsin legislature for the next two-and-a-half years, the federal amendment remained the focus of WWSA efforts in these last years of the movement. This is clearly stated in the December 1918 bulletin. After mentioning that the WWSA's annual suffrage convention had been postponed by an influenza epidemic, it announced: "The federal amendment continues to hold the center of the stage, and our deepest interest." Suffragists should no longer limit themselves to writing their representatives and senators, Youmans advised, but should "make a direct appeal to Senators from other states." And they should make their will known to their state representatives so that if the federal amendment were approved, it would be ratified by the Wisconsin legislature.[68]

Thus, in the final two years of the fight for suffrage, the WWSA had no real local voice other than the bulletin and Youmans' column in the *Freeman*. It appears ironic, then, that in 1919 Wisconsin women won a double victory. First, they won presidential suffrage in the state legislature, then they won the distinction of being citizens in the first state to ratify the federal amendment.[69]

Grappling With the Truth

Reformers typically believe in the power of the written word to change public opinion, often quoting Milton's maxim that if truth and falsehood are allowed to grapple, truth will prevail.[70] Thus for reformers, freedom of the press is a necessary tool in their attempt to win public opinion and bring about change or, as they see it, the truth to light.[71] Excluded and ridiculed by the mainstream press, reformers typically establish their own publications to reach the public as well as their own constituents.

It is ironic, then, that these publications do not always allow expression (which may be considered the essence of freedom of the press) to all members within their own constituency. As becomes clear from this study, even the press of a reform movement can be dominated by elites who suppress the free flow of ideas.

In the case of the Wisconsin woman suffrage movement and the WWSA, it is clear that its organ, the *Wisconsin Citizen*, was dominated by two leaders—one succeeded (or better, ousted) by the other—who used the paper to support their own vision of what the organization should be and how it should carry out its goals. Although dissent within the Wisconsin suffrage movement was occasionally given voice in the *Citizen*, more often than not, it was suppressed in the interest of the movement's unity and, perhaps, the preservation of the established leadership.

Thus Olympia Brown, who founded the paper in 1887 and appointed a series of editors over the years, was able to maintain control of the *Citizen* as well as the leadership and campaign tactics of the WWSA for 26 years. Convinced that the "still hunt" was the best campaign tactic, Brown believed more flamboyant tactics such as persistent lobbying, street speaking, and suffrage tours would alienate the very people suffragists were trying to persuade. When dissenting members of the WWSA challenged her tactics and leadership, their criticisms were not published in the paper and the only evidence of this dissent -- other than the correspondence among suffragists and articles published in mainstream newspaper stories — is found in the few articles the *Citizen* published answering these "unjust" charges.

Even after open revolt split the WWSA into two factions, the *Citizen* refused to recognize the rebel group. It spoke obliquely of the inappropriateness of the terms "political equality" and "league," but never legitimized the rebel group by using its name, the "Political Equality League." In 1913 Brown was forced from her position, but even here, the struggle was masked and her "resignation," as that of the *Citizen's* editor in the following year, was presented in the paper as a graceful departure for calmer waters.

Under Theodora Youmans' stewardship, the *Citizen* continued to suppress dissent. The struggle over the appropriate site of activism for Wisconsin suffragists was muffled by the battle cry for success on the national front. Painful debate over the allocation of meager resources was buried in the enthusiasm to assist in the highly visible campaigns, marches, and rallies in New York and Washington, D.C.. Although Youmans later called the *Citizen* "a doughty defender of the faith for three decades," she sacrificed it when she had to choose between devoting her energies to the national or the state suffrage movement.[72]

What is perhaps most striking is that the demise of the *Wisconsin Citizen* was completely unannounced. If there was any debate over what appears to have been a very abrupt death, it was once again stifled in the very pages of the victim.

This study, in fact, confirms observations made by other scholars of reform and social movement publications that such publications do not always express a unified or representative voice, whether in regard to ideology, goals or tactics. Perhaps more to the point, this study contradicts observations by some scholars that women's reform publications, both of the 19th and 20th centuries, emphasized an "open forum," and a cooperative rather than a competitive approach.[73] The communities created and sustained by reform publications, as identified by Folkerts in her study of the Farmers' Alliance and by Steiner in her study of suffrage publications, in fact are not always inclusive.[74] In the case of the *Wisconsin Citizen* and the WWSA, those who did not adhere to the ideas of first Brown and then Youmans found themselves excluded from the debate in the publication. To find a place to express their views and find like-minded women, their only option was to join other organizations such as the PEL in 1911 and the National Woman's Party in 1916.

These observations suggest a further consideration of the role played by reform publications. Often viewed as a liberating factor by organizational leaders and constituents, these publications also serve as a tool for dominant groups or individuals within a movement to control the flow of ideas, create an illusion of consensus, and suppress dissent.

This of course can have positive effects—unifying the movement, making it more effective, allowing it to reach stated goals. But it also can have negative effects—discouraging or eliminating the free flow of ideas within the movement, excluding the ideas of those who would challenge the movement's elite perhaps for the better, forcing dissenters from the movement, and ultimately distancing the leadership from the constituency.

Social movement scholars have noted that as social movements mature they become bureaucratized and rigid, controlled by a few leaders rather than a fluid and creative grass roots constituency.[75] If, as this study indicates, movement publications can come to serve as an organ for movement ***leaders*** rather than ***constituents***, this would suggest one explanation for the rigidity within maturing social movements and the gradual disenfranchisement of their members. In this scenario, rather than serving as a community sounding board, reform publications become mere mouthpieces for the elite within the movement.

Endnotes

[1]Lauren Kessler, *The Dissident Press: Alternative Journalism in American History* (Newbury Park, SAGE: 1984), 8-20; Harvey Molotch, "Media and Movements," in *The Dynamics of Social Movements*, ed. M. Zald and J. McCarthy (Cambridge: Winthrop, 1979).

[2]See, for example, Sherilyn Cox Bennion, "Woman Suffrage Papers of the West, 1869-1914," *American Journalism* 3 (1986): 2-14; Linda Steiner, "Finding Community in 19th Century Suffrage Periodicals," *American Journalism* 1 (Summer 1983): 1-15; Lynne Masel-Walters, "A Burning Cloud by Day: The History and Content of the *Woman's Journal*" *Journalism History* 3 (1986): 103-108; Nancy L. Roberts, "A Preliminary Profile of the Nineteenth-Century U.S. Peace Advocacy Press," presented to American Journalism Historians Association, Salt Lake City, October 1993; Sharon Murphy, "Neglected Pioneers: 19th Century Native American Newspapers," *Journalism History* 4:3 (Autumn 1977): 79-82, 98-100.

[3]Kessler, *The Dissident Press*, 74.

[4]In her study of the Farmers' Alliance newspapers of the 1880s, Folkerts also identified two other major functions of the reform press: to provide information neglected or ignored by the mainstream press, and to confer a sense of legitimacy on the movement's opposition to the dominant economic and political structure. Jean Folkerts, "Functions of the Reform Press," in *Media Voices: An Historical Perspective*, ed. Jean Folkerts (New York: MacMillan, 1992), 207. Steiner also refers to the sense of community created by reform journals in her study of suffrage periodicals. (Steiner, "Finding Community in 19th Century Suffrage Periodicals.")

[5]For discussion of the splintering of a social movement, see Jo Freeman, *The Politics of Women's Liberation* (Palo Alto: Manfield, 1975); Todd Gitlin, *The Whole World is Watching* (Berkely: University of California Press, 1980), and Mayer Zald, "The Trajectory of Social Movements in America," *Research in Social Movements* 10 (1988): 19-41.

[6]Bernell Elizabeth Tripp, "The Antebellum Press," in *The Media in America: A History*, 3rd ed., ed. Wm. David Sloan and James D. Startt (Northport, AL: Vision Press), 187. Julius Thompson observes similar splits in the black press over militancy and accommodationism from the 1890s through the Civil Rights era. (Julius Thompson, *The Black Press in Mississippi, 1865-1985* (University Press of Florida, 1993.)

[7]See, for example: Janet M. Cramer, "Woman as Citizen: Race, Class, and the Discourse of Woman's Citizenship, 1894-1909," *Journalism Monographs* 165 (March 1998); Linda Steiner, "19th-Century Suffrage Periodicals: Conceptions of Womanhood and the Press," in *Ruthless Criticism: New Perspectives in U.S. Communication History*, ed. William S. Solomon and Robert W. McChesney (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993).

[8]Quoted in Steiner, "19th-Century Suffrage Periodicals," 92.

[9]Examination of various histories of social movement publications reveals examples of this tendency. Reform and alternative publications, in fact, often became known as the paper of the founding editor or editors. A few examples that come readily to mind are *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony's *Revolution*, Amelia Bloomer's *Lily*, and Benjamin Flower's *Arena*.

[10]Dominick LaCapra, "Rethinking Intellectual History and Reading Texts," in *Modern European Intellectual History: Reappraisals and New Perspectives*, ed. Dominick LaCapra and Steven L. Kaplan (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), 47-84.

[11]The territorial conventions rejected it as "impractical and unnecessary." Theodora W. Youmans, "How Wisconsin Women Won the Ballot" *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 5(1921): 3-4.

[12]Laura Ross Wolcott, "Wisconsin," in *History of Woman Suffrage* v. 3, 1876-1885, ed. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, (New York: Arno and the New York Times, 1969), 640-41; Youmans, "How Wisconsin Won the Ballot," 8-11; Olympia Brown, "Wisconsin's Fight for Suffrage," *Milwaukee Free Press Sunday Magazine*, 23 July 1911, 1. For discussion of Emma Brown and the *Wisconsin Chief*, see Genevieve G. McBride, *On Wisconsin Women: Working for Their Rights from Settlement to Suffrage* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993), 22-37; 106-110.

[13]Brown was a graduate from Antioch College (class of 1860) and was the second female minister to be ordained in the United States. She founded the New England Woman Suffrage Association in 1868 and helped found the American Equal Rights Association in 1866. In 1878, she moved to Racine where she took the pulpit in a Universalist church and where her husband, John Henry Willis

became part owner and business manager of the Times Publishing Company. (Charles E. Neu, "Olympia Brown and the Woman's Suffrage Movement," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 43 [Summer 1960]: 277-79.)

[14]Brown, "Wisconsin," 989-91; Youmans, "How Wisconsin Women Won the Ballot," 16-17; William Francis Raney, *Wisconsin: A Story of Progress* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1940), 325.

[15]"To Timid Friends," *Wisconsin Citizen*, February 1888, 3; Brown, "Wisconsin's Fight for Suffrage." During its early years The *Wisconsin Citizen* was printed at the *Times-Call* press, where Brown's husband, John Henry Willis, was part owner.

[16]Brown, "Wisconsin's Fight for Woman Suffrage"; Youmans, "Wisconsin," 701; Ada Lois James Papers, reel 4, doc. 1074, State Historical Society of Wisconsin Archives and Manuscripts Collection, Madison, Wis. (hereafter ALJ Papers).

[17]Youmans, "Wisconsin," 703-4; Genevieve G. McBride, "Theodora Winton Youmans and the Wisconsin Woman Movement," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 71 (Summer 1988): 248.

[18]Because of highly organized opposition from the brewing industry and the German-American Alliance, Wisconsin had been identified as a "losing proposition" by the NAWSA.

[19]Youmans, "Wisconsin," 705-08.

[20]Here the word "minority" is used to describe the concept of powerlessness rather than a numerical percentage of less than half.

[21]"Salutatory," *Wisconsin Citizen*, August 1887, 1.

[22]It was published as a monthly and bimonthly 1887-1914; as a monthly 1914-1916, and as a quarterly 1916-1917. Membership in the WWSA was one dollar per year.

[23]Under Youmans's editorship, the *Citizen* was sent to other suffrage periodicals and newspapers as exchanges in addition to being circulated to subscribers. Efforts were also made to boost circulation by combining subscriptions to the *Citizen* with those to the *Woman's Journal*. "Report of Headquarters," *Wisconsin Citizen*, February 1915, 5.

[24]Editors and places of publication were: Mrs. M. P. Dingee, Racine (1887-1894); Mrs. H. H. Charlton, Brodhead (1894-1906); Lena V. Newman, Brodhead (1906-1914), and Theodora Winton Youmans, Waukesha (1914-1917). ("Preface," in microfilm collection of *The Wisconsin Citizen*, in *Woman's Press Collection*, Memorial Library Microfilm Collection, University of Wisconsin, Madison.)

[25]McBride, "Theodora Winton Youmans," 246-61; "Preface" to *Wisconsin Citizen* Collection.

[26]*Wisconsin Citizen*, 1887-1917, passim; "Our Editor," *Wisconsin Citizen*, November 1889, 1.

[27]*Wisconsin Citizen*, passim.

[28]*Wisconsin Citizen*, passim. The majority of records and correspondence of the WWSA and the PEL are contained in the Ada Lois James Papers and the Wisconsin Woman's Suffrage Association Papers at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin in Madison.

[29]Neu, 279-81.

[30]Brown, "Wisconsin's Fight for Suffrage," 1; Lawrence L. Graves, "The Wisconsin Woman Suffrage Movement, 1846-1920," (Ph.D. Diss., University of Wisconsin, 1954), 111; "Report of the Wisconsin Woman's Suffrage Association," *Wisconsin Citizen*, May 1910, 2.

[31]Josephine Kulzick to Olympia Brown, 23 March 1911, ALJ Papers, box 5, folder 1.

[32]"Report of Annual Meeting," *Wisconsin Citizen*, October 1910, 2.

[33]Mary Swain Wagner to Ada James, March 8, 1911, ALJ Papers, box 5, folder 1.

[34]*Milwaukee Journal*, 1 April 1911, 8; Olympia Brown, "To the Wisconsin Woman Suffrage Association," April 1911, 3.

[35]Brown, "An Explanation," *Wisconsin Citizen*, March 1911, 1.

[36]"Meeting of W.S.A. in Madison," *Wisconsin Citizen*, March 1911, 1.

[37]See, for example, Brown to James, July 1911, ALJ Papers, box 6, folder 1.

[38]Olympia Brown, "To the Wisconsin Woman's Suffrage Association," *Wisconsin Citizen*, April 1911, 2.

[39]Youmans, "Wisconsin," 700-01; "The Launching of the Ship," *Milwaukee Journal*, 11 April 1911, 1. Wagner's machinations soon alienated the rebel faction as well. She withdrew briefly to New York, then returned to Wisconsin and in November 1911 organized her own group, the American

Suffragettes, in Milwaukee. This group, however, was small and disorganized. (See: "Miss Mary Back," *Milwaukee Journal*, 27 June 1911, 1; Gwendolen B. Willis, "The Co-operative Committee," *Wisconsin Citizen*, June 1912, 5.)

[40]Olympia Brown, "Wisconsin to the Front," *Wisconsin Citizen*, June 1911, 3.

[41]"The Wis. W.S.A.," *Wisconsin Citizen*, July-August 1911, 3. This article mentioned that James had resigned her position with the WWSA to become president of an "opposing society."

[42]The *Press Bulletin* is described in "Wisconsin Active Along Many Lines," *Woman's Journal*, 4 May 1912, and "Press Work in Wisconsin," *Woman's Journal*, 14 September 1912. The last issue of the *Bulletin* was published on 28 November 1912.

[43]"Address of Rev. Olympia Brown," *Wisconsin Citizen*, October 1911, 3; Gwendolen B. Willis, "What Methods," *Wisconsin Citizen*, December 1911, 1-2. Brown reiterated her position in a letter to Ada Lois James, warning her that her "untimely and most injurious movement" (the PEL) would defeat the suffrage referendum. (Brown to James, July 1911, ALJ Papers, box 6, file 1.)

[44]One exception was an article about an auto tour by Illinois suffragist Catherine Waugh McCulloch in summer 1912. McCulloch and Brown had been friends and suffrage allies since the 1890s and in 1891 Brown had christened McCulloch's oldest son. (See "The McCulloch Tour," *Wisconsin Citizen*, April 1912, 5.)

[45]In her farewell address, published in the December 1912 - January 1913 issue of the *Citizen*, Brown referred to the recent division of the WWSA, the "first sign of serious disagreement in all the years since the society was founded in 1882." Referring obliquely to Wagner, she placed the blame for the division on "influences and persons outside the state." (Brown, "Farewell Address," *Wisconsin Citizen*, December 1912 - January 1913, 1-2.)

[46]"Wisconsin Women at it Again," *Wisconsin Citizen*, November 1912, 1.

[47]*Wisconsin Citizen*, 1913-1917, passim. Having a column specifically labelled as the "President's Letter" was a departure from tradition, for although during her presidency Brown had typically published signed columns in the *Citizen*, these were not marked as coming from the president. Brown probably felt this was superfluous, as everyone *knew she was the president.* Because Brown continued to publish signed articles in the publication after her removal as president, it is possible that Youmans felt the need of establishing her own position and authority by labelling her own columns as the official voice of WWSA leadership.

[48]James to Youmans, 17 June 1913, Wisconsin Woman's Suffrage Association Papers, box 2, folder 2, State Historical Society of Wisconsin Archives and Manuscripts Collection, Madison, Wis. (hereafter WWSA Papers); "Annual Meeting of the Wisconsin Woman's Suffrage Association," *Wisconsin Citizen*, November-December 1913, 2-3.

[49]Brown, "How 'The Citizen' Could Be Made Self-Supporting," *Wisconsin Citizen*, September 1913, 2; "Annual Meeting of the Wisconsin Woman's Suffrage Association," *Wisconsin Citizen*, November-December 1913, 3-4; Willis to Youmans, 12 January 1914, WWSA Papers, box 3, folder 1; Brown to Youmans, 14 January 1914, WWSA Papers, box 3, folder 1.

[50]Youmans, "Salutatory," *Wisconsin Citizen*, June 1914, 1.

[51]Brown remained a member of the WWSA, although she devoted her energies increasingly to the campaign for a federal amendment and eventually aligned herself with Alice Paul's National Woman's Party. In 1920, at the age of eighty-five, she was allowed to vote for the first time (Neu, 284-85.)

[52]Flexner, 145-51, 159-81, 222-31.

[53]In 1887, for example, Mary Livermore and Lillie Devereux Blake of New York and Rev. Anna Garland Spencer of Rhode Island, spoke at meetings throughout the state ("The Work for August," "Mrs. Mary Livermore," *Wisconsin Citizen*, August 1887, 1, 3). In 1894, Emma Smith DeVoe of Illinois gave a series of suffrage lectures ("Mrs. DeVoe's Lectures," *Wisconsin Citizen*, November 1894, 4). And during the 1911-1912 campaign, the participation of Harriet Grim and Catherine Waugh McCulloch of Illinois was financed by the NAWSA ("Miss Harriet Grim of Ill.," *Wisconsin Citizen*, July-August 1911, 8; "The McCulloch Tour," *Wisconsin Citizen*, April 1912, 5; "Mrs. DeVoe's Visit," *Wisconsin Citizen*, October 1911, 4; "Generous Friends," *Wisconsin Citizen*, July 1912, 1.)

[54]Graves, "The Wisconsin Suffrage Movement," 111.

[55]Clara Bewick Colby to My Dear Mrs. Proudfoot, 1 May 1915, Clara Bewick Colby Papers, box 4, folder 1, State Historical Society of Wisconsin Archives and Manuscript Collection, Madison, Wis.; Flexner, 273-276, 286-301; McBride, "Theodora Winton Youmans and the Wisconsin Woman Movement," 263-70.

[56]In 1910, for example, a proposal from the NAWSA that the WWSA reorganize along Congressional voting lines was seen as a challenge to the authority of the various chapters scattered around the state. The WWSA voted to delay such a plan until it was "more fully developed," but did make a resolution that the NAWSA should push for a federal amendment. ("Report of Annual Meeting," *Wisconsin Citizen*, October 1910, 3.)

[57]See, for example, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, "Progress is the Law," (From the *Boston Investigator*), reprinted in *Wisconsin Citizen*, January 1901, 2; "The Federation of Women's Clubs in Michigan," *Wisconsin Citizen*, January 1900, 1; Ida Husted Harper, "Women in Congress," *Wisconsin Citizen*, January 1902, 1. It was a common practice for newspapers during this period to share material through "exchanges."

[58]The 1913 bill was subsequently approved by the legislature and then vetoed by the governor. See: "The Governor Vetoes the Bill," *Wisconsin Citizen*, June 1913, 3.

[59]"Resolution of the 63rd Congress," *Wisconsin Citizen*, April 1913, 1.

[60]Youmans, "Our Most Pressing Need," *Wisconsin Citizen*, April 1913, 1.

[61]Youmans, "Going to New York," *Wisconsin Citizen*, September 1915, 1.

[62]Youmans, "The Vote in the House," *Wisconsin Citizen*, January 1915, 1; Youmans, "Our Congressmen and Our Cause," *Wisconsin Citizen*, February 1915, 1; "Lenroot and the Amendment," *Wisconsin Citizen*, December 1915, 2; Youmans, "Your Responsibility," *Wisconsin Citizen*, January 1917, 1.

[63]"Four Hundred Dollar Hat," *Wisconsin Citizen*, January 1917, 4; "Suffrage Headquarters," *Wisconsin Citizen*, September 1913, 4; "Personal," *Wisconsin Citizen*, January 1917, 4; "Mrs. Hooper in Washington," *Wisconsin Citizen*, January 1917, 2.

[64]McBride, "Theodora Winton Youmans," 263-69.

[65]"Swinging 'Round the Circle," *Wisconsin Citizen*, January 1917, 2.

[66]The bulletin retained the name *The Wisconsin Citizen*, with a subtitle, "Monthly Bulletin of the Wisconsin Woman's Suffrage Association." It is clear, however, that it was not published on a regular monthly basis, for in the December 1918 issue, Youmans apologized for missing several weeks as the result of an illness.

[67]In 1917, the *Woman's Journal*, which had been the official organ of NAWSA since 1890, merged with the *Woman Voter* and the *National Suffrage News* to become the *Woman Citizen.*

[68]*Wisconsin Citizen*, December 1918.

[69]Youmans, "Wisconsin," 706.

[70]John Milton, *Areopagitica*, 1644. See for example, an editorial cartoon published in the *Woman's Journal*, "Wall of Public Opinion," that shows a suffragist building a wall of positive public opinion with individual stones labelled "Suffrage News," Editorial," and "Cartoons." ("Wall of Public Opinion," *Woman's Journal*, 2 Oct. 1915.) Another reform organization, the Anti-Saloon League, used the same metaphor. An editorial cartoon published in the *American Issue*, "Publicity Will Kill Him," shows a knight with a sword labelled "truth" confronting a dragon representing "Demon Rum." ("Publicity Will Kill Him," *American Issue*, 17 July 1915.)

[71]These sentiments are clearly expressed in many reform publications of the period, including the *Woman's Journal* and the *American Issue*, the journal of the Anti-Saloon League. See Elizabeth V. Burt, "An Arena For Debate: Woman Suffrage, the Brewing Industry, and the Press, Wisconsin, 1910-1919," (Ph.D. diss, University of Wisconsin, 1994), 430-431.

[72]Youmans, "How Wisconsin Women Won the Ballot," 17.

[73]In her study of 19th-century periodicals, Steiner concludes that Aldrich's invitation to diverse ideas (cited above) was typical of 19th-century suffrage editors and was "remarkably prophetic of the continuing commitment of feminists to let women express themselves in their own way..." (Steiner, "19th-Century Suffrage Periodicals," 93.) In an analysis of women's media between 1963 and 1983, Martha Leslie Allen attributed eight characteristics to women's communication networks, which included women's publications. These included: allowing women to speak for themselves; using a sharing instead of a competitive approach; using a non-attack approach toward different views; and emphasizing an "open forum." (Quoted in Maurine H. Beasley and Sheila J. Gibbons, *A Documentary History of Women and Journalism*, 2nd ed. [Washington, D.C.: American University Press, 1993], 192.)

[74]Folkerts, ""Functions of the Reform Press;" Steiner, "Finding Community in Nineteenth Century Suffrage Periodicals."

[75]Jo Freeman, *The Politics of the Women's Liberation*, 551; Suzanne Staggenborg, "The Consequences of Professionalization and Formalization in the Pro-Choice Movement," *American Sociological Review* 53 (August 1988): 585-606; and John D. McCarthy and Mayer N. Zald, *The Trend of Social Movements in America: Professionalization and Resource Mobilization* (Morristown, N.J.:General Learning Press, 1973): 24-25.

Flying Around the World in 1889—In Search of the Archetypal Wanderer

by Paulette D. Kilmer

Two young "ladies" challenged traditional definitions of a woman's place by racing against each other to beat the time set by Jules Verne's hero, Phileas Fogg. Their quest reflects the often nebulous line between fiction and reality. Their trek symbolizes the fascination with wanderers deeply imprinted within the American mindset. This essay analyzes the archetypal significance of women flying (speeding) around the world in 1889.

Once upon a time, 20 blind historians went on a picnic to the zoo. Their tour guide invited them to feel the creatures so they could appreciate each one's unique character. Soon a guessing game started. The fangs and halitosis gave away the tiger. The thick bumps and big, leathery grin elicited a chorus of "crocodile"! Then, the experts at inferences based on tactile information got stumped. One, tugging on the beast's tail, swore it had to be a snake! The one feeling the ear, deduced it could be none other than a stingray. The one petting the side declared the keeper had pulled a trick on them; actually, they were being shown a wall. The fellow with the trunk insisted the critter was an anteater. Not until they stopped wrangling and pooled their evidence did they figure it out—the mystery animal was an elephant.

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In some ways, all historians are blind. None of us has the expertise to understand all the fields our colleagues investigate. We divide ourselves quickly into qualitative and quantitative factions but actually we comprise many threads of insight: feminism, biography, critical studies, cultural studies, economics, and a myriad of other subtopics, each vital in its contribution to the tapestry of the past. When historians first proposed studying women's history, some denounced the idea as trivial. We must be open to new areas of inquiry because what doesn't grow, dies. New approaches and focuses revitalize the standard ways of doing historical research.

I write about archetypes and values. My work is crucial because I use interdisciplinary resources to evaluate experiences in terms of motivations that arise from the bedrock of American values. I study the public lives of people because the public stories they tell about themselves shape cultural perceptions of what it means to be an American. The mass media are innately emotional. My work objectively analyzes those feelings and patterns of symbols that teach us our society's morés. My evidence includes newspaper and magazine articles, biographies, and an avalanche of excellent historical studies contributed by other historians as well as by cultural scholars.

This essay provides a different perspective for viewing Nellie Bly. It is not the only way to assess her accomplishments. Nevertheless, until we consider together Nellie Bly and Elizabeth Bisland (her rival for the title of America's globe-trotting sweetheart) we will not appreciate how they reflected the turmoil of changing expectations and challenges that confronted women at the turn of the century.

The Fascination of Distant Places

A hundred years ago, "flying around the world" meant circling the globe swiftly. The implosion of inventions in the late 19th century stirred up interest in rapid travel as a moneymaking venture. However, the idea of journeying to distant places fascinated ordinary people more than profit motives. In the 1870s, Jules Verne's story about an English gentleman, Phileas Fogg, who wins a wager at his club by dashing *Around the World in 80 Days,* captured the imagination of the multitude in the United States.[1] In fact, Fogg's adventures inspired the *New York World*, the most powerful newspaper in 1889, to send a reporter, Nellie Bly [Elizabeth Cochrane], to beat Fogg's time. The editor of *Cosmopolitan* magazine bet $1,000 that his writer, Elizabeth Bisland, would finish before Bly.

Thus, the figment of Verne's imagination, Phileas Fogg, lived once again—this time on the pages of newspapers around the world. Of course, the furor created a demand for the science fiction novel and for products bearing Bly's name or likeness. Feminists have concentrated on the impact of Bly's feat on the treatment of women and the development of political agendas. To discover the real woman behind the legendary figure, biographers have focused on Bly's struggles as well as her triumphs. Because other scholars have analyzed the social and cultural implications of the race, it is possible to examine this historical event as a saga in the mythology of the United States of America. The flesh-and-blood globe-trotters inspired an American legend and, therein, revived an old archetype (repeating pattern) in the bedrock of national consciousness.

Bly And Bisland As Cultural Myths

In this essay, I will apply Jungian concepts to the facts others have already established as well as to some primary sources. The purpose of this venture, then, is to illuminate why Nellie Bly's flight around the world became a cultural myth and how she embodied the icon for pluck. Bly and Bisland both defied the customs of their day and achieved fame for their courageous trek. But, while Bly became a footnote in history, Bisland vanished.

This essay will answer three questions to explain why the *World's* daring stunt girl and not *Cosmopolitan's* dainty writer left an indelible mark on the American mindset: How did Bly reflect the invasion of women into male domains? How did Bisland epitomize the rebuff of female advancement into public arenas by traditionalists? How did Bly crystallize into the icon for pluck and her story become a legend? Answering these questions entails expanding on three themes: women's break from the gingham ghetto; women's view of themselves as trailblazers, and one woman, Nellie Bly, as the archetypal wanderer.

Out of the Kitchen, Into the World

During the late 19th century, women struggled to discover their identity by "[leaving] the known for the unknown." [2] When Elizabeth Cochrane, who had already added an "E" to the end of her name, crashed the newsroom, she took Nellie Bly as her pen name. This plucky upstart served as a role model for those aspiring to be "new women" and reporters rather than recipe editors or fashion critics. [3] Her rival, Elizabeth Bisland,

defended hearth and home against rebels like Bly. Both the modern girl, Bly, and her old-fashioned challenger, Bisland, shattered the image of women as helpless vessels incapable of retaining their sanity if thrust into public spheres.

However, although their dash around the globe was remarkable, it was not a fluke. This publicity stunt reflected the upsurge of nonconformity that prompted women in numerous walks of life to question stale social conventions. In 1887, the famous muckraker, Ida M. Tarbell, declared that journalism offered women a wide-open field of opportunity. [4] By 1890, 4,500 women served as physicians, surgeons, osteopaths, chiropractors, healers, and medical service workers. Another 2,500 graduated with bachelor of arts degrees from colleges and universities, and 250,000 women taught in a variety of institutions.

Women's clubs and professional organizations also emerged during the late 19th century. Of course, settlement houses and consumer leagues as well as the temperance and suffrage crusades proved that women could assume responsibility for guiding social change.[5] Bly covered woman-suffrage events, interviewed Susan B. Anthony (whom she praised for being both brainy and well-dressed), and limited her support of the cause to setting an example for others to follow.[6] Bisland warned in a short story, "The Coming Subjugation of Man," that human males might find themselves consigned to drones in the hive of humanity if women ever attained equality.[7] On this issue of women's rights, indeed on most points, the two globe-trotters disagreed vehemently.

Events in 1889 and 1890 showed that women could participate productively in many arenas once considered appropriate only for men. For example, while Bly raced against time, settlers in Wyoming refused to accept statehood unless their wives, mothers, sisters, and daughters were allowed to enter with voting rights. For 20 years before Wyoming attempted to join the Union, women there had participated as enfranchised citizens and served on juries. "When Wyoming celebrated its newly won statehood in Cheyenne on July 23, 1890, the flag honoring the occasion was presented to the Governor by Mrs. Esther Morris, 'the mother of woman suffrage in Wyoming.'"[8]

In that same year, Ida B. Wells, editor of the Memphis *Free Speech*, lost her teaching job when she criticized the inferior schools run for African American children. She fled the city when her crusade against lynching precipitated death threats from the Ku Klux Klan. Despite a tide of public disapproval, Wells published her two-year investigation of lynching and lectured in Great Britain, where she organized anti-lynching

societies. Perhaps her journey of the soul was more remarkable than Bly and Bisland's global chase. Wells certainly proved to be just as dedicated and courageous as Bly, whom Mayor Cleveland of Jersey City credited with "[adding] another spark to the great beacon light of American liberty, that is leading people of other nations in the grand march of civilization and progress."[9] During the last years of her life, Bly devoted her newspaper column to finding homes for orphans. She wrote passionately about the Pullman Strike, the drought in the Midwest, and Eugene Debs' commitment to social justice.[10] Both Wells and Bly cared passionately about reform, and their lives as well as their deeds provided examples of how women of vision could change the world.

A Stage for Experimenting with Progress

Newspapers followed both Bly's and Wells' efforts to change society. Such stories related facts but also incorporated the community's shared narratives about a woman's place, role, and rightful aspirations. Moreover, the popular press, including dailies and magazines, offered writers a stage for experimenting with the consequences of progress and for revamping traditional plots to accommodate the advancement of women into civic, political, and professional circles. Browsing through editions of the *Detroit Evening News* that appeared during Bly's sojourn to immortality revealed that, besides detailed accounts of wrecks and fires, journalists then as now sought news of unusual individuals who dared to be unconventional. Of course, Bly's triumph generated lively copy.

Two articles about the "girl reporter" who outwitted Father Time appeared toward the end of her quest. In one item, the editors lamented that Bisland had missed her connections and, therein, her chance to beat Bly.[11] While Rittenhouse suggested that Verne had promised to applaud if Bly made the journey in 79 days and had declared that if she did it in 75 days, it would be a miracle, the Michigan editors reported on November 24 that the French author had tried to discourage the "sylph" of the New York *World*.

Beneath the article about Bly, an item recounted the fate of an aeronaut who flew into the skies over Honolulu in a balloon. The wind blew him two miles out to sea. He parachuted into the rough waves. A boat sped to rescue him. "[But] not a trace was found. No doubt he was eaten by sharks."[12] Other items depicted disasters at sea and the possibility of creating a tubular train engine that would whisk passengers to their destinations at record-breaking paces. Bly took off for foreign ports in risky times indeed.

Sir Henry Morton Stanley's search for Dr. David Livingstone commanded about four times as much coverage as Bly's bid "to put her girdle 'round the earth." [13] These stories about journeys reflect the interest in transportation even in small city dailies. The realization that vacationing helped people stay healthy generated an avalanche of copy about travel in the late 19th century. Bly and Bisland both relied upon commercial carriers, showing that remote locales could be safely reached.

The stormy seas and the number of shipwrecks between November 1889 and late January 1890 did not discourage the drove of adventurers who followed Bly's example. Bly returned a heroine, toasted on five continents. However, before her victory over Bisland and the stopwatch, some editors criticized the stunt reporter. For example, the trade magazine, *The Journalist: Devoted to Newspapers, Authors, Artists and Publishers,* predicted Bisland would finish first and, later, accused the *World* of playing dirty tricks to ensure Bly's victory. Although in November 1889, *The Journalist* gushed that the race would serve some "great humanitarian purpose," when Bly won, the editor scoffed, "Today we have the lightning press, the paragraph-long editorial, the special railroad train, the Atlantic Cable, the telephone, the phonograph, and Nelly [sic] Bly—What of it? Forsooth."[14]

Newspapers often overlooked in historical studies also slammed Bly. For instance, on January 12, 1890, the *Detroit News* solved "The Mystery of Nellie Bly" by relating the "History of the Girl Who Is Flying Around the World." The headline also declared that she was "an Eccentric Young Man-Hater Who, to Support a Widowed Mother, Has Undergone Dangers and Experiences Without Parallel in the Annals of Womanhood." Moreover, "Not one newspaper reader in a thousand is quite sure whether Nellie Bly is of the feminine gender." [15]

Facing the Jealousy of Her Colleagues

Biographer Brooke Kroeger concluded that *The Journalist* and editors snubbed Bly because many of her colleagues seethed with jealousy. The rumors surrounding Bly's identity included allegations that she wore trousers and drank "absinthe frappe in inordinate quantities." Some insisted that the real Nellie Bly was the father of "an interesting trio of bouncing baby boys" whose wife wrote the columns. [16]

However, *The Journalist* inferred, "No doubt she has performed feats worthy of the sterner sex, but she is eminently feminine in her appearance and manners."[17] *The Journalist* preferred Bisland over Bly. For example,

the January 25, 1890 issue briefly told readers Bly was Pink Cochrane who had started her career with the *Pittsburgh Dispatch* and noted that the Nellie Bly game rivaled Parcheesi and Fifteen Puzzle in popularity. A few pages later, the editors gushed in a lengthy paragraph over Bisland's dainty and distinctive style "quite aside from her observant and receptive faculties as a gleaner of news . . . ."[18]

The Michigan paper dispensed these false tales: Bly was, in fact, a woman—"past the school-girl age and not yet at the quarter post of old maidism [sic]." She was "a very ordinary, everyday young woman, rather slight in form, leaning to eccentricity in dress, masculine in her tastes and ideas...." Not only was this maverick unladylike, but she "had never been in love with any human being on the face of the earth except her mother."[19] The article cast Bly's adventures invading the newsroom, gallivanting to Mexico, and crusading for reform into a twisted parable about how dangerous escapades and unfeminine behavior—all just to get the story—had ruined Bly's demeanor and social life.[20]

Although the feature about Bly reflects the Detroit daily's frantic scramble to keep things the same by denying women public roles, news items about women in Detroit—indeed, in the nation—begin to erode that very stance against female participation. For example, Susan B. Anthony's speeches on behalf of suffrage generated several sympathetic stories. However, the most fascinating pieces dealt with ordinary women right in the city. Some acted out of passion or conviction. Others felt the pinch of economic necessity. All joined the ranks of Bly and Bisland as the path-breakers of changes that, ultimately, would empower women to become spiritual as well as physical wanderers. Through their quests, women would attain enough wisdom to balance their need for community ties with their equally compelling need for solitude.

"Lady" Trail Blazers

Although today the word "lady" connotes foolish affectation, a century ago even nonconformists, like Nellie Bly, still feared losing their status as ladies. Olga Stanley denounced the "mannish woman," concluding that successful women journalists made it their priority to be attractive and "beloved by . . . co-workers and fellow-beings generally." [21] Venturing out of the home exposed women to the glare of public scrutiny, and, therein, the risk of losing their social status. Often, men did most of the shopping, and some business districts remained virtually closed to women. Books prescribed strict rules of conduct to maintain the shield of

privacy that protected a woman's virtue. In *Rudeness and Civility: Manners in 19th Century Urban America*, John F. Kasson noted that rebels who played a role in shaping community life "continued to be branded shameless and unwomanly. If the ideal for both men and women was to be completely inconspicuous in public, for women the stakes were much higher and the possibilities for transgression much greater." [22]

Nevertheless, despite the risks, women broke the rules. Like Bly, they responded to psychological needs for attaining a balance between personal fulfillment and social expectation, for developing a sense of self as a character in the community's ongoing story. To understand themselves and others, they relied upon archetypes (repeated patterns embedded deep within the mind and spirit, often via narratives).

Wanderers Instead of Shadows

Thus, the resolve to forge ahead by assuming unconventional roles arose from inner conviction. Myths, including the story of the Pleiades, indicate the quest for self-improvement began eons ago. Like the heroines in that Australian story of sisters who conquered darkness by becoming stars, ordinary women as well as remarkable achievers, like Nellie Bly, dispelled ignorance by proving themselves capable of performing astonishing deeds. She and other brave women accepted the call to be wanderers instead of shadows. In the *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States*, Eleanor Flexner explained how improvements in the standard of living enabled women to venture outside of the home without neglecting domestic responsibilities.

It was an era of gee-whiz gizmos. The introduction of gas lighting as well as municipal water systems and indoor plumbing, the promotion of canning, the commercial production of ice, the development of efficient stoves, and the invention of time-saving homemaking tools instilled in many a respect that bordered on awe for modern things. "From 1865 on, a veritable domestic revolution was under way, which freed those able to take advantage of it for pursuits other than housework." [23]

While inventions facilitated changes in women's roles, they do not entirely explain it. These "ladies" drew strength from the rich reservoirs of traditional stories woven within their psyches. Bly and Bisland invaded territories of accomplishment designated for "men only." A maverick who learned from 19th century trailblazers, Jane Wheelright described the force that drives people to fulfill their potential despite the odds. This Jungian analyst explained, "A woman with courage, a woman who's

adventurous, a woman who speaks her mind is supported by the animus."[24] The animus represents the male side of a woman's personality just as the anima embodies the female side of a man's personality. To be healthy, individuals must balance these polar dimensions of self.

The editors who ridiculed Nellie Bly when she girdled the earth, no doubt, did not understand this psychological equilibrium. Henrik Ibsen illuminated the clash of traditional expectations and human needs in *A Doll's House.* That drama depicts Nora's rebellion against being cast in the suffocating role of helpless mate and childish mother.

Some critics denounced *A Doll's House.* In fact, Bisland, who shocked her social circle by accepting the assignment from *Cosmopolitan* to race against Bly without chaperones, twice condemned Ibsen's depiction of women's need for self-fulfillment. She blamed "The Abdication of Men" for the defection of wives from the domestic kingdom and deplored "the triviality of a drama fit only for wooden puppets." [25] Bisland decried the "criticism of the marriage relation. The stage concerns itself almost exclusively with that topic for the moment, Ibsen having struck the key to which all the playwrights are pitching their chorus of echo. Every bookstall is heavy with similar discussions in dialogue carried on by the puppets of fiction." [26]

Bisland was one of many women who found themselves straddling two intellectual pinnacles—on the one hand, the writer expressed the traditional desire to serve silently a magnanimous master but, simultaneously, she felt the urge to express her feelings and to test her potential in ways entirely inconsistent with being the Victorian home angel. In fact, by 1889, Bisland was "[working] early and late producing an average of 50,000 words a month and earning some $5,000 a year." [27] Ibsen's timeless story shook the complacency of 19th century audiences because Nora embarked upon an inner quest to find herself that took as much courage as the magazine editor (Bisland) and the stunt reporter (Bly) summoned to beat Phileas Fogg's record.

From Goddess to "Journalistic Daisy"

Her victory over time earned Bly many titles, including "journalistic daisy," that subconsciously draw upon that symbolic turf of myth where pretty girls prefer being transformed into blossoms to being deflowered. Reconstructing the 1889 race in archetypal terms emphasizes its cultural and emotional significance. Archetypes are patterns of behavior, imagery, or attitudes of subconscious significance that endure and, through

repetitions over time, saturate culture. In her study of the origins of the great goddess archetype, Susan Lichtman explained that people often overlook vibrant female paragons whose adventures delineate what it means to be a woman. Literature and history record female experience according to unspoken assumptions about reality that automatically relegate past generations of sisters to passive, submissive roles. Many feminine models of courage and greatness have been forgotten. "For woman to have a future in modern society, she must first have a past that contains her own traditions, her own folklore, and her own heroes." [28]

Bly certainly qualifies as a role model, a heroine for all ages whose example inspires others to turn dreams into action. Articles about both Bly and Bisland appear in *The New York Times Index*. The obvious references, a trip, a tour around the world, describe all the articles. This language fits the psychic need to cull the story down to its essential nugget so that the main points are not buried in an avalanche of detail. [29]

Slipping Into Fantasy

In folklore and formula tales, heroines complete quests fraught with perils. Persevering over incredible odds forces them to develop inner resources and, thus, prove themselves worthy of emulation. The sacred quest of Bly and Bisland invited readers to vicariously prevail over forces of evil—despair, loneliness, and disease. Just as magically as protagonists in fairy tales persevere far away from home, the flesh-and-blood sojourners triumphed over the supernatural, faceless foe of fear. Newspapers around the world as well as around the nation chronicled the adventures of Bly and Bisland as they conquered time itself. Of course, whenever reporters recorded the progress of either globetrotter, they inadvertently enabled readers to slip into the realm of fantasy.

Moreover, readers translated the sprint around the planet into personally relevant terms. Although they embraced the news stories as proof of the march of progress, they also subconsciously filed images in their internal library of mythology. Members of a community inherit a body of archetypes that preserve values and celebrate individual's contributions to ventures greater than self. In *The Wisdom of the Dream*, Stephen Segaller and Merrill Berger point out that all humans are connected by a pool of symbols and archetypes called the ***collective unconscious.*** [30]

Despite the differences between newspaper articles (like the lively accounts of the 1889 race between Bly and Bisland) and fiction (like Verne's *Around the World in 80 Days)*, one inevitable commonality links both forms of expression. Both provide readers with imagery, evidence, and emotional grounding at a subconscious level. Pearson explains that people find meaning in their lives by weaving their experiences into narratives that supply scripts for living. Every sequence of action contains a beginning, middle, and end. The stockpile of plots enables citizens to recycle ancient archetypes into modern events, thus sustaining the moral code.

Pearson notes that not all plots merit exploration. Some lie dormant deep within the subconscious. However, others stay on the surface and greatly affect people. "For an archetype to have a major influence upon our lives, there must be some external duplication or reinforcement of the pattern, an event in one's life or stories recounted in the culture that activates the pattern."[31]

The media have always generated narratives that trigger the recognition of archetypes in public spaces as well as in private homes. Although reporters seek facts, ultimately readers subjectively interpret the content of even the most objective account according to its archetypal salience. "For many, however, the newspaper is the main institution that provides a sense of belonging." [32] Those who read papers find repeated in truncated form the patterns that reinforce the value system dominant in their community.

James W. Carey has pointed out that all writing, including journalism, tells a story built upon character, plot, action, dramatic unity, and purpose. [33] To appreciate any narrative, readers decode the archetypes within it and, therein, understand their own experiences. Bly and Bisland both generated news that invited readers to assess the meaning of their own as well as of women's lives in general.

Bly, the Eternal Wanderer—Not Bisland

The journey around the world took Bly and Bisland much farther than simply around the globe. It must have been a trek of the heart like those psychologist Carl Jung took in the 1920s to learn about himself by seeing how people in faraway places lived and thought.[34] Both women saw themselves reflected in the eyes of strangers in exotic places. Although Bisland did not want to go, she decided later that the trip had enriched her as a writer and expanded her vision of humanity.

The intrepid globetrotters followed Phileas Fogg's route. Nevertheless, their quest echoed the universal desire to discover self through encountering others that had inspired American authors, including Herman Melville and Mark Twain. When the narrator of Melville's novel, *Moby Dick*, invites readers to call him Ishmael (which means wanderer) he invokes an archetype as old as the human race.[35]

Ishmael watches hatred consume Captain Ahab and his ship. Ahab's obsession with killing the great white whale casts mythological themes of hero quests gone awry into early 19th century American experience. The image of the outcast determined to complete a journey for noble reasons has always permeated our popular culture via melodramas, paperbacks, and newspapers. Bly, willingly, and Bisland, unintentionally, fit this paradigm because few women traveled anywhere alone and few dared to defy rules that restricted exciting news coverage to men.

Bly's name still conjures up images of the eternal wanderer, the seeker who discovers self-worth and identity by exploring mysterious terrains. Only an American girl could perform such a feat, according to European papers. Moreover, just as fictional protagonists narrowly avert disaster, on the last lap of her journey, Nellie Bly's train "almost hurled to destruction. The escape is a miraculous one, and section men who witnessed the train flash over the straw-like structure (washed out bridge) regard the escape as one of the most marvelous in railway history." [36] Notice the dramatic wording of the quotation. Heroines never persevere in a humdrum fashion.

Pearson points out that the cowboy, the knight, and the explorer represent the desire to shed the conventions imposed by society long enough to traverse unknown realms. [37] The prize is inner peace rather than material treasures. The process of mythology strips individuals of their humanity to transform them into icons for archetypes, thus connecting the culture to its values. Nellie has ceased to be a mere woman. She embodies pluck, chutzpah, and rebellion. Bisland's name is often interchanged with Bly's, but her name alone does not symbolize anything. The opposite natures of the two women considered together illuminate both Bly's contributions and Bisland's counterclockwise journey around the world.

In real life, no woman could have been as glamorous or outrageous as the heroine of the "Tales of Bly," the mythic version of the girl who turned New York upside down with her exposés of madness and her conquest of prize fighters and New York's aristocrats. The legends highlight incidents that fill the intrinsic, human need for role models. As the

feminist movement has emerged in the last quarter of the 20th century, the litany of *femme* has resurrected the stories of women who deserve to be respected for their accomplishments. A few, like Nellie Bly, transcend history because their experiences echo the archetypal skeleton of the nation. Comparing the lives of the two globetrotters reveals the difference between history and cultural memory.

Bly Respected Her Granduncle's Adventure

Elizabeth Cochrane followed in the footsteps of her granduncle, Thomas Kennedy, who toured the world in three years. Unfortunately, he died shortly after completing the amazing journey that destroyed his health. The same spirit of adventure that inspired him to risk his life to encounter the unknown also fired the imagination of his grandniece. Kroeger could not document the origin of the spellbinding assignment, but most accounts insist that Bly forced the editors at the *World* to send her—not a man—on the dangerous mission. "But as usual Nellie had iron determination behind her sweet face." [38] Giving Bly full credit reflects her personality and adds to her legendary stature.

Elizabeth Bisland, on the other hand, called the global dash a ridiculous wild goose chase.[39] Initially, she refused to accept the assignment. "In the first place, I didn't wish to. In the second place, people were coming to my house to tea on the following day." [40] Can anyone picture the indefatigable Bly uttering such heresy?

The contrast between the personalities of the two globetrotters inadvertently reflects the extremes in modern and traditional choices women made during the Gilded Age (1870-1914). Nellie Bly: "The *New York World's* correspondent who placed a girdle around the earth in 72 days, 6 hours and 11 minutes burst like a comet on New York, a dynamic figure, five feet three, with mournful gray eyes and persistent manners." [41] While Bly rushed to her tailor's to order special clothing—her famous checkered coat and cap—that she could pack into her valise, Bisland fretted about not having "appropriate garments" and packed a "good-sized steamer trunk, a large Gladstone bag, and shawl strap" as well as "a second larger box with everything [she] could possibly require." [42]

Even their pseudonyms reflected their different outlooks. Bly, the flamboyant tomboy, took her pen name from the Stephen Foster song, "Nellie Bly." Bisland, the pragmatic lady, published items as B. L. R. Dane. Both worked for newspapers, but Bisland stayed in the literary department. Bly, on the other hand, put aside the niceties of the woman's

turn of phrase in poems, short stories, and essays to crash the newsroom as a stunt reporter. While Bly was not the first of her sex to work as a reporter, she was outspoken about her goals in the newsroom. Bly pursued stunt reporting to prove that she could do the same work men did—a ghastly notion for many, including Bisland, in 1889.

Although seeing her name in headlines reminded Bly of her success as a journalist, Bisland felt "distress" when she read her name in a headline while she worked for the *New Orleans Times-Democrat* and from then on wrote unsigned columns. [43] In fact, Bisland secretly mailed her poetry from a nearby village, fearing that the pseudonym alone would not protect her identity. [44] Bly relished having her name repeated three times in headlines that announced her latest pursuit for social justice. Her column in the *New York World* in the 1890s not only featured her name above the copy but included her photo, which also was labeled. Necessity prodded both women.

According to Frances E. Willard and Mary A. Livermore (her contemporary biographers) Bisland worked only because while she was a child her parents had lost all of their property during the Civil War. She helped support her relatives with her writing, the one potentially commercial talent she had discovered during the prosperous years when the family still had enjoyed its status as one of the oldest and finest in Louisiana.[45] After going to New York, Bisland sought a position as a magazine contributor partly because she disliked being associated with newsrooms which, like saloons, were forbidden turf for ladies.

"What Are Girls Good For?"

Despite this social taboo, Bly sought a career in journalism. Like Bisland, she, too, felt compelled to earn money to pay her expenses and help her family. But unlike the southern author, she relished conquering the newsroom. Her fiery persona and gutsy stunts caught the public's imagination. She was the stuff of dreams and wrote fittingly about Cinnamon Gardens, elephants, and eating Christmas lunch in the Temple of the Dead in Canton, China. Bisland described suffering from the cold, fatigue and hunger. She made long literary references and described sunsets, Chinese playing fantan, going to Japanese theater, watching flying fish, and everywhere the salutary impact of British rule on heathens. She feared being lost in the fog or getting influenza.

Meanwhile, Bly visited Jules Verne, bought a monkey, and danced with princes. Once Bisland asked a man to make arrangements for her

Courtesy of Library of Congress

Elizabeth Cochrane (Nellie Bly) pictured in a photograph dated 1890.

because she was far away from home, afraid, and exhausted. Bly, on the other hand, emphasized the thrills awaiting those who flew around the world solo on regular commercial carriers—ships, trains, sampans, elephants, or rickshaws. Both of them undoubtedly got seasick. To Bly it was just another dramatic episode in a splendid romp to best Father Time. Bisland wrote realistically about the agonies of shipboard illness in 1889. Nevertheless, both had fun and made friends as they sped across the continents.

Although both women's styles seem stilted today, each had an audience. Bly wrote emotionally and transcribed interviews into lively dialogues. She proved herself capable of doing a man's job by responding to an article in the Pittsburgh *Dispatch*, "What Are Girls Good For?" In her first assignment as a member of the news staff, she examined divorce, an unseemly topic for a maiden to contemplate.

While Bly focused on the legal problems confronting women trapped in deplorable domestic situations, Bisland concluded that the security and comforts of marriage made women "honored priestesses;" moreover, the noble duty of bearing children negated any possibility of equality with men.[46] Both women expressed themselves powerfully. Bly's stories reflected the metamorphosis of women in the Gay 90s from the traditional, sheltered Madonnas in aprons praised by Bisland to the brazen, modern women like Bly who challenged the bromide—it's a man's world.

Bisland and Bly both sought fame as literary writers. Bisland published short stories, essays, and novels. Her name appears in a half-dozen biographical dictionaries of writers. [47] Bly left *The World* to pursue a literary career after her triumphant trip around the world. For six months, Bly lectured about her experiences. Nellie Bly's Book, *Around the World in 72 Days,* rapidly sold out the first printing. *The Journalist* predicted that Bly would make more money on her memoirs than English explorer Sir Henry Morgan Stanley. "Stanley has sold his forthcoming book [about finding Dr. David Livingston] for $200,000, but we have already perused his accounts of African exploration. Miss Bly will come back from a novel enterprise, and her account of her journey should make a book more salable than Stanley's. The wise publisher will be prepared to meet the fair traveler at the depot." [48]

Bly signed a contract with *N. L. Munro's New York Family Story Paper* for three years at the awesome salary of $10,000 a year. However, she either found the stay-at-home life boring or just did not have any talent for writing fiction. [49] Bly published books drawn from her newspa-

per writing: her experiences in Mexico as a correspondent for the Pittsburgh *Dispatch*, her exposé of Blackwell Island (*Ten Days in a Mad House*) for *The World* and, of course, her book about girdling the globe.

While Bly excelled in the newsroom, Bisland earned respect in literary circles. She contributed essays to *The Atlantic Monthly* as well as to *The North American Review*, beginning as the protege of Frank Hatton in the literary department of the *Washington Post*. Later, she sent pieces to the New Orleans *Times-Democrat* and, eventually, published these books: *A Flying Trip Around the World, A Candle of Understanding, The Secret Life, Life and Letters of Lafcadio Hearn, At the Sign of the Hobby Horse, Seekers in Sicily,* and *The Case of John Smith*. Bisland stopped writing about 13 years before she died.

Both Bly and Bisland married. Bly's husband, a hardware store tycoon, was nearly four decades older than his bride. Bly wrote for *The World* off and on until she felt secure in her marriage. After the first stormy year, she found happiness with Robert Seaman. [50] "There were no more bylines or brass bands." [51] However, a whirlwind of parties, extended vacations, and luxurious business trips with her husband kept her busy and contented until Seaman died in 1904, leaving Bly a very rich widow.

Bisland's tycoon started out a lawyer but soon left the legal profession to pursue corporate connections in the steel industry and mining speculations in the Midwest. While Bly chose a father figure for her partner, at the age of 30, Bisland wed a yachting enthusiast just seven years older than herself. Neither Bly nor Bisland bore children, but for several years after her husband's death Bly took in street orphans until she could arrange adoptions for them.

Bisland's Obituary Duller Than Bly's

By 1919, Bly returned to writing for newspapers to support herself because litigation with former employees had consumed most of her fortune. Her old friend, Arthur Brisbane, offered her a job at the *New York Evening Journal*. Times had changed enough so that, on the eve of the Roaring 20s, Bly's once thrilling style seemed quaint. Nevertheless, she crusaded for reforms (particularly in the treatment of children) and shook up the whole nation with her eyewitness account of an execution that depicted graphically her opposition to capital punishment. "She died still in harness, doing the work she loved best. There were no close survivors. The *Journal* said, simply, "She was considered the best reporter in America." [52]

Although Bly has become an icon and Bisland has been forgotten *The New York Times* gave Bisland, who died on January 9, 1929, on her estate near Charlottesville, a thorough and upbeat but nevertheless, dry obituary. Kroeger points out that, overall, New York newspapers adequately saluted Bly, who died nearly penniless in a New York City hospital on January 27, 1922. They both succumbed to pneumonia. [53] The Associated Press wire story concluded Bly's life "was more active than falls to the lot of more than one woman in 10,000."[54]

Two Women But One Myth

Although two flew against time to beat Phileas Fogg in 1889, usually historians mention only the triumphant one. They often check coverage in *The New York Times* because it is the newspaper of record, the daily with national circulation. *The New York Times'* obituary for the loser was certainly as complimentary as the winner's death notice; nevertheless, a century later, Nellie Bly's star blazes amidst the novas of other immortals whose lives embody sacred cultural tenets. "Creating a character part dream, part reality, she bettered the world for others while fulfilling her own destiny. In a startling fashion, she made seemingly impossible hopes come true." [55]

Bly traveled farther faster on new forms of commercial transportation than anyone had ever imagined possible and, unlike her granduncle, lived to tell the tale. "The Amazing Nellie Bly" became a part of American folklore and "a larger-than-life figure" who deserved to be respected for her contributions as a first-person reporter in an era when men still dominated newsrooms. [56] Ross credited that "small tornado" with making "America conscious of the woman reporter" and emphasized Bly's indomitable spirit. [57] Frank Luther Mott called her trip around the world "the most spectacular stunt" performed by any woman in the 1880s to prove herself a capable journalist.[58]

Jean Folkerts and Dwight Teeter do not use the term stunt reporter. Instead, they recognize Bly as one of Pulitzer's "able staff." [59] Their list of Bly's crusades reveals why she has become an icon for the wanderer. The outrageous Nellie Bly did all those things Americans in the 20th century have come to respect—at least from afar. She defied authority for the sake of justice. She went to jail. She broke bread with lunatics to help victims of the system escape from the cruelest, most terrifying label of her day—insanity. She stood her ground even when her knees shook and her heart pounded. As foreign journalists noted, only an American girl would dare

fly around the world. Americans like to think of themselves as singular, as chosen by God for special missions. Nellie Bly fits that conceit.

Bly, not Bisland, remains a symbol of the archetypal wanderer because she broke the rules creatively to improve society. She persevered. Had Bly merely beat Phileas Fogg, she probably would have been forgotten as quickly as Bisland. Bly fought corruption in government in Mexico and among lobbyists in New York state, campaigned for rights for factory girls, and exposed mashers as well as testified before grand juries about the conditions in prisons, tenements and hospitals. She married a millionaire but died penniless and alone—nevertheless contented—demonstrating that while, ultimately, earthly treasures rust, spiritual riches endure. That sort of cosmic justice appeals to the American mindset.

However, the loss of her fortune gained its archetypal significance because through determination and luck, even though she was in her 50s, Nellie Bly made a comeback. She did not rise to her former celebrity status as a reporter, but she did arrange homes for orphans and write her column until she died, which indicated that wealth had not corrupted her. Rather than accept charity, the widow went to work, an action frowned upon in 1919, but highly commended today. Bly maintained her respectability and her autonomy by supporting herself with her pen.

Strength from External and Internal Journeys

Bly's life story offers the moral that those who answer the call to stray from traditional paths transform dreams into reality. In fact, true wanderers gain strength from essential external and internal journeys. "Nellie Bly seemed to embody the romance of journalism, the lure of travel and the pluck of the American girl." [60] Perhaps, her greatest achievement was in attaining the goal of all wanderers—finding out who she was while doing the work she loved best. Bly was not an upstart who broke the rules to shock old fogies. Bly was not one of a kind, unnatural and unfeminine. Bly was not a solitary woman born into the wrong century. Her hour of glory transpired, simultaneously, with the awakening of many sisters driven by inner visions of possibilities that most could not see. That is why Nellie Bly ceased being Elizabeth Cochrane in cultural memory. She has become the icon for informed risk-taking that enhances the self by enabling the soul to grow. She is a legend, a mythic heroine.

The New York Times obituary emphasized Bly's daring exploits, like testing a diving bell. To eulogize Bisland, *The Times* declared that an author had died in the South. Thus, Bly's flamboyant adventures eclipsed

Bisland's quiet accomplishments.[61] Nevertheless, the mistake is intriguing because while history records two bold deeds, mythology and, albeit inadvertently, the *Times* index recall but one noble quest fraught with peril and worthy of emulation. Both women contributed to the history of transportation by stirring up interest in commercial travel. Moreover, they proved that both "tomboys" and "nice girls" could complete a task that required rational thought and physical stamina as well as self-confidence.

Endnotes

[1] Jules Verne, *Around the World in 80 Days* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1956).

[2] Carol S. Pearson, *The Hero Within: Six Archetypes We Live By* (San Francisco: Harper, 1989) 54.

[3] In the same year, Bly and Bisland raced against time, Mary Twombly urged women to cheerfully and gratefully accept their place in the women's department, the only suitable work for them on newspapers. See "Women in Journalism," *The Writer*, 3:8 (Aug. 1889) 169-172. Ida M. Tarbell, in *The Chautauquan: A Monthly Magazine Devoted to the Promotion of True Culture, Organ of The Chautauquan Literary and Scientific Circle*, 7:8 (April 1887), concluded that some reporting, like morgues and the police beat, are impossible for women, 393.

[4] Tarbell, 393.

[5] For information about the number of women who participated in ventures outside of the home, see Eleanor Flexner, *The Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1975) "Chapter XIII: The Growth of Women's Organizations," especially 179-181.

[6] Brooke Kroeger, *Nellie Bly: Daredevil, Reporter, Feminist* (New York: Random House, 1994) 193, 281-286.

[7] Elizabeth Bisland, "The Coming Subjugation of Man," *Belford's Magazine* (Ocrober 1889) in *Science-Fiction: The Early Years* by Everett F. Bleier with assistance from Richard J. Bleier (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1990), 68.

[8] Flexner, 181.

[9] Mignon Rittenhouse, *The Amazing Nellie Bly* (New York: Dutton, 1956) 209.

[10] Kroeger, *Nellie Bly*, Pullman Strike, 229-237; Eugene Debs, 251; the drought in the Midwest, 252 and her reform efforts through her newspaper column during her last years as a reporter, 455-510.

[11] "The Globe Trotters [sic] Miss Bisland Deprived of Victory By a Mistake," *The Detroit News*, 19 January 1890, p. 1., c. 6.

[12] "An Aeronaut's Fate. Drops Into the Sea With a Parachute and Devoured by Sharks," *Detroit News*, 24 November 1889, p. 1, c. 1.

[13] The first story, "Nellie Bly's Trip," appeared in the *Detroit News*, 23 November 1889, p. 1, c. 1.

[14] Allan T. Forman, "By-the-Bye", *The Journalist: Devoted to Newspapers, Authors, Artists and Publishers*, 16 Nov. 1889. 10:9, 9; Also, see "The Two Globe Trotters" [sic], 23 Nov. 1889, Vol. 10:10, 9; Allan T. Forman, "By-the-Bye," 1 February 1890, 10:20, 8.

[15] "The Mystery of Nellie Bly. History of the Girl Who Is Flying Around the World. Eccentric Young Man-Hater Who, to Support a Widowed Mother, Has Undergone Dangers and Experiences Without Parallel in the Annals of Womanhood," *Detroit News*, 12 January 1890, p. 3, c. 1.

[16] "The Mystery of Nellie Bly," *Detroit News*, 12 January 1890, p. 3, c. 1.

[17] *The Journalist*, 11 January 1890, Vol. 10:17, 6.

[18] Allan T. Forman, "By-the-Bye," *The Journalist*, 25 January 1890. 10:19, Two short sentences about Bly, 5; long paragraph about Bisland, 9.

[19] This comment in the *Detroit News* article, "Mystery of Nellie Bly," proved eventually to be tragically ironic because disputes over ownership of a steel barrel manufacturing concern resulted in Bly being abandoned by the very mother whom she had supported and taken care of for years. Kroeger describes the decay of Bly's family ties in the chapters on bankruptcy and on Bly's final years, "Bankruptcy", 329-388 and "The Journal", 455-512.

[20] "The Mystery of Nellie Bly," *Detroit News*, 12 January 1890, p. 3, c. 1.

[21] Olga Stanley, "Personalities of Literary and Journalistic Women," *The Outlook*, 57:7 (16 October 1897) 427.

[22] John F. Kasson, *Rudeness and Civility: Manners in Nineteenth Century Urban America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1990) 117-118.

[23] Flexner, 182.

[24] Stephen Segaller and Merrill Berger, *The Wisdom of the Dream: The World of C. J. Jung* (Boston: Shambahla, 1990) 115.

[25] Elizabeth Bisland, "The Abdication of Man," *The North American Review* 167 (August 1898) 191.

[26] Elizabeth Bisland, "Notes and Comments: The Modern Woman and Marriage," *The North American Review* 160 (June 1895) 48.

[27] Olga Stanley, "Personalities of Literary and Journalistic Women," *The Outlook*, 57:7 (16 October 1897) 427. Katherine Verdery, "Elizabeth Bisland Wermore, 1861-", in the *Library of Southern Literature: Compiled Under the Direct Supervision of Southern Men of Letters*, ed. Edwin Anderson Alderman et al, Vol. 13 (New Orleans: Martin and Hoyt, 1907) 5770.

[28] Susan Lichtman, *The Life Stages of Woman Heroic Journey: A Study of the Origins of the Great Goddess Archetype* (Lewiston, Wales: Mellen, 1991) 3.

[29] The articles appear in January of 1890 as the two globe trotters are hurrying to complete the race. The 1966 *New York Times Index* in the University of Wisconsin Memorial Library indicates that the *Times* ran three items abour Bisland (Bisland, Miss., "Tour Around rhe World," 19 January 1890 1:6; 22 January 1890 2:5, and 23 January 1890, 9:6.) The Index lists one article about Bly: "Trip Around the World, Arrival at New York," 26 January 1890, 8:3. Since the *New York Times* tried to avoid the sensationalism that made Bly's paper *The New York World* popular; the editors may have hoped Bisland would beat the stunt reporter.

[30] Stephen Segaller and Merrill Berger, *The Wisdom of the Dream: The World of C.J. Jung* (Boston: Shambahla, 1990) especially Chapter Seven: "Travels in Time and Space," 126-153.

[31] Carol S. Pearson, *The Hero Within: Six Archetypes We Live By* (San Francisco: Harper, 1989) xxv-xxvi.

[32] Daniel C. Hallin, "Where? Cartography, Community, and the Cold War," in *Reading the News*, Robert Carl Manoff and Michael Schudson, eds. (New York: Pantheon, 1986) 117.

[33] James W. Carey, "Why and How? The Dark Continent of Journalism," in *Reading the News*, 149.

[34] Segaller and Berger, 136.

[35] Herman Melville, *Moby Dick or the Whale* (New York: Random House, 1930).

[36] "Nellie Bly's Escape. Her Special Train Almost Hurled to Desrruction. Going at a Rate of Over Fifty Miles an Hour, Track Repairers Fail to Stop It Where the Rails Were Not Spiked Down—The Train Went Over Safely," *The Detroit Evening News*, 23 January 1893, p. 1. c. 2.

[37] Pearson, 51.

[38] Madelon Golden Schilpp and Sharon M. Murphy, *Great Women of the Press* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois U P, 1983) 140. Also, see Kroeger, *Nellie Bly*.

[39] Elizabeth Bisland, "A Flying Trip Around the World: Second Stage," *The Cosmopolitan* 9:1 (May 1890) 56.

[40] Elizabeth Bisland, "A Flying Trip Around the World: First Stage, "*The Cosmopolitan*, 8:6, (April 1890) 692. The series ran from April through October. See *The Cosmopolitan*, "A Flying Trip Around the World: Second Stage," 9:1 (May 1890), 51-61; *The Cosmopolitan*, "A Flying Trip Around the World: The Third Stage," 9:2 (June 1890), 173-184; *The Cosmopolitan*, "A Flying Trip Around the World: Fourth Stage," 9:3 (July 1890), 272-284; *The Cosmopolitan*, "A Flying Trip Around the World: Fifth Stage," 9:4 (August 1890), 401-413; *The Cosmopolitan*, "A Flying Trip Around the World: Sixth Stage," 9:5 (September 1890), 533-545; *The Cosmopolitan*, "A Flying Trip Around the World: Last

Stage," 9:6 (October 1890), 666-577. She also published her memoir as a book, *A Flying Trip Around the World*.

[41] Ishbel Ross, *Ladies of the Press: The Story of Women in Journalism by an Insider* (New York: Harper 1936) 48. The page across from the title page featured a photo of Bly in her traveling costume.

[42] Bisland, "First Stage," 693.

[43] Bisland, "First Stage," 692-693.

[44] Verdery, 5770-5771.

[45] Frances E. Willard and Mary A. Livermore, *American Women: 1500 Biographies, 1,400 portraits; A Comprehensive Encyclopedia of American Women During the Nineteenth Century* (Detroit, MI: Gale Research, 1973 reprint, orig. printed in 1897) 86.

[46] Elizabeth Bisland, "Notes and Comments: The Modern Woman and Marriage," *The North American Review* 160 (June 1895) 755.

[47] Surprisingly, Bisland's name does not appear in *Notable American Women* or other modern biographical sources. However, her life receives lengthy consideration in the *Library of Southern Literature* previously cited and standard paragraph-long mention in *The Bibliophile Library of Literature, Art and Rare Manuscripts: History, Biography, Science, Poetry, Drama, Travel, Adventure, Fiction, Little-Known Literature from the Archives of Great Libraries of the World*, compiled and arranged by Nathan Haskell Dole, Forrest Morgan and Caroline Ticknor, New York: International Bibliophile Society, 1904; *Library of the World's Best Literature, Ancient and Modern*, ed. Charles Dudley Warner (New York: International Society, 1898) 61; *Who Was Who Among North American Authors, 1921-1939*, 2 (K-Z) (Detroit: Gale, 1976) originally published by the Golden Syndicate, Los Angeles. *The Journalist* also ran a photo and valentine profile of her, "Miss Elizabeth Bisland of *The Cosmopolitan Magazine*," 30 November 1889, 2. The writer praised Bisland's beauty and talent but spent about half of the article talking about *The Cosmopolitan magazine* as "really a competitor of the *Century*, *Harpers* and *Scribner's*."

[48] "Book Makers and Others," *The Journalist*, 10:17 , 11 January 1890, 6.

[49] Kroeger, *Nellie Bly*, 186.

[50] Kroeger, *Nellie Bly*, 268-292.

[51] Schilpp and Murphy, 146.

[52] Kroeger, 509.

[53] See Kroeger for information about Bly's death 507 and *The New York Times* obituary for Bisland: "Mrs. E. B. Wetmore, author, dies in South: Former Elizabeth Bijsland of this city to be buried in Woodlawn: 9 January 1929, 31:4.

[54] Kroeger, 507.

[55] Rittenhouse 107-108.

[56] Lea Ann Brown, "Elizabeth Cochrane (Nellie Bly)", *Dictionary of Literary Biography* 58. Rittenhouse entitled his biography, *The Amazing Nellie Bly*.

[57] Ross 48, 50.

[58] Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism: A History 1690-1960* (New York: MacMillan, 1972), 437. Also, see Edwin and Michael Emery, *The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1984).

[59] Jean Folkerts and Dwight L. Teeter, *Voices of a Nation: A History of the Media in the United States* 3rd ed.(New York: MacMillan, 1989) 268.

[60] Bernard A. Weisberger, "Elizabeth Cochrane Seaman," *Notable American Women*, 1971, 254.

[61] "Nellie Bly, Journalist Dies of Pneumonia, famous for Rapid Trip Around the World and other Daring Exploits," *The New York Times*, 28 January 1922, 13:4.

"There Is Nothing in This Profession . . . That a Woman Cannot Do": Doris E. Fleischman and the Beginnings of Public Relations

by Susan Henry

Between 1913 and 1922, public relations began to be formed as a profession, and the life of one of its previously unacknowledged pioneers—Doris E. Fleischman—changed in remarkable ways. This article charts Fleischman's early career as a publicist, fundraiser and newspaper reporter, and then as the first employee hired by Edward L. Bernays when, in 1919, he opened an office providing "publicity direction." It describes some of their key early campaigns, the rapid development of and changes in their business, and the increasingly productive collaboration between them until 1922, when Fleischman became an equal partner with Bernays in the firm of Edward L. Bernays, Counsel on Public Relations.

When she graduated from Barnard College in spring 1913, Doris E. Fleischman said, she was "shoved into the ocean without having learned to swim."[1] Although she was a talented singer and athlete, she had never read a newspaper, knew little about the world and felt "bewildered" when her father asked her what she planned to do after graduation. At age 21, she knew she would

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"do something" but had no clear idea what that would be and no confidence that she was prepared for any career at all.[2]

A decade later, she was excelling in a profession that had not been invented when she graduated from college, leading a life that would have been unimaginable to her at that earlier time. In September 1922 she became an equal partner, with its founder, in one of the country's earliest and most successful public relations agencies, having helped it first thrive as a publicity service and then evolve into a public relations firm. She did this with almost no public recognition, in contrast to the firm's founder, Edward L. Bernays, who cultivated the limelight from the start and, throughout his career, usually received sole credit for the agency's accomplishments. When he died in 1995, the headline of his *New York Times* obituary labeled him the "father of public relations,"[3] but his partnership with Fleischman in the birth and development of the field has only recently been acknowledged.[4]

This article looks at the beginnings of Fleischman's career and the beginnings of the profession she helped form. It charts the work she and Bernays did before they joined together, the growth of and changes in their new agency, their development of public relations techniques that were to become mainstays, and some of the reasons their early collaboration was so successful. The scarcity of published information about how early agencies operated (and the fact that the first years of this particular firm have received only cursory attention) made it worthwhile to examine some of Bernays' work in addition to Fleischman's. This gives context to information about Fleischman as well as helping to provide a broad picture of the nascent agency itself.

Thus, this study adds an understanding of public relations' early years, a time that has not yet been well-documented, in part because the behind-the-scenes nature of many of the activities carried out makes them difficult to investigate. Similarly, although the advantages of collaboration in today's public relations activities are widely understood, little is known about the ways early collaborators worked together. This largely is due to the still-further-behind-the-scenes interactions of collaborators, which make researching them doubly problematic. And while the contributions of many individual men to the development of public relations have been at least generally sketched, women's early work rarely has been studied. A male-female collaboration seems worthy of particular attention.

Fleischman was by far the most important of the field's women pioneers, and this period is a significant one for understanding both her as an individual and the patterns of what was to become her 62-year-long

collaboration with Bernays. Because their business was relatively simple when it began and the bulk of her work was precisely defined, it is much easier to identify her skills and responsibilities then than it is during the remainder of their partnership, when their work essentially merged. Separating out key components of her work at this time reveals what she brought to the business from the start and how she helped it develop. Several new findings also correct inaccurate claims repeatedly made by Fleischman and Bernays about her activities before as well as after they joined together.

From Little Direction to Publicity Direction: 1913 to 1919

Fleischman's life changed during the period of this study largely due to fundamental career decisions made by her friend, Edward Bernays. First, he almost accidentally became a theatrical press agent in 1913 when, while editing two small medical magazines, he also ingeniously promoted a controversial play about syphilis, "Damaged Goods," which a physician had praised in one of Bernays' magazines.[5] He later explained the effect of this experience: "I had had so much pleasure from what I had done that I said to myself, 'This is what I want to do.' I became a press agent."[6]

For the next five years he was a highly successful publicist for Broadway plays, actors, musical performers such as Enrico Caruso, and—during three years that he said "taught me more about life than I have learned from politics, books, romance, marriage and fatherhood in the years since"—Diaghilev's Ballet Russe. He described this work as "one thrill after another" and loved what he did. Yet as exciting to him as the glamour and sophistication of the performing arts world was his own success. He had found his calling and quickly learned that he was very good at it.[7]

In June 1918, he happily stopped this work to join the many journalists, press agents and advertising people working for the US Committee on Public Information (CPI). Headed by George Creel, this huge propaganda operation was extraordinarily effective in building nationwide public support for this country's World War I efforts and spreading US government views to the rest of the world. Bernays worked out of the New York office of the CPI Foreign Press Bureau until, when the war ended in November, he went to Paris for the Versailles Peace Conference as part of the official press mission.[8]

The CPI has been widely credited with vividly demonstrating the power of organized, well-funded public opinion manipulation. The general public increasingly became aware of this power, as did businesses and other organizations, and many of the people who had worked for the CPI were particularly struck by its effectiveness, Bernays among them.[9] He also was affected by his experiences at the Peace Conference. "Paris was swarming with ethnic entities that had been promised independence in Wilson's Fourteen Points," he explained, and "I couldn't but observe the tremendous emphasis the small nations of the world placed on public opinion." Having "seen this world picture emphasizing the power of words and ideas," he decided that when he returned to New York in March 1919 he "would go into an activity that dealt with this force of ideas to affect attitudes."[10]

Bernays' CPI connections soon resulted in contracts to do publicity work for two organizations. On March 20, 1919, the Lithuanian National Council hired him to help in its efforts to obtain US support for recognition of the country as an independent republic, and 10 weeks later he began working with the US War Department on its campaign for the reemployment of former servicemen. He initially operated just as he had as a theatrical press agent—out of his clients' offices or his parents' home, where he lived. But on July 28, 1919, he made a second career change when he opened his own office. That same day, he hired Doris Fleischman as a staff writer.[11]

In 1919 Fleischman had much less to show for the preceding years than did her new boss. After graduating from college in 1913, she apparently worked as a fundraiser and publicist for a charity on New York's lower east side.[12] The next year, Bernays helped her get a job at the *New York Tribune*, where she began as a women's page writer, then was promoted to assistant women's page editor and assistant Sunday editor. Sometimes writing as many as three long feature stories a week, she interviewed many well-known people, traveled to San Francisco to report on the Women's Peace Conference at the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition, and claimed to be the first woman to cover a prize fight for a major newspaper. Although she seems to have done well and greatly enjoyed this work, she left the *Tribune* sometime in 1916.[13]

Exactly when and why she left remains a mystery. In interviews, Bernays was very reluctant to acknowledge that she stopped working at the newspaper before 1919, while in her own published and unpublished writings and in interviews, Fleischman seldom admitted that she left before this date. One friend from the 1970s with whom she sometimes discussed her early career speculates that she left for family reasons.[14]

Imprecise as it is, this interpretation makes sense and helps explain her reticence in discussing this period of her life.

In 1916 she was living at home with her parents. Her mother, Harriet Rosenthal Fleischman, was a pleasant, compliant woman—in many ways a typical late-Victorian upper-middle-class wife and mother—while her father, Samuel E. Fleischman, was a rigid, authoritarian man who exerted firm control over his family. A prominent lawyer who was conservative in most of his views, he nonetheless encouraged Doris to attend a good college and then get a job when she graduated, but she did not accept the offer from the *Tribune* until she had asked his permission to do so. And, fearful that she would be hurt, he accompanied her when she covered the prize fight.[15] Her father was by far the strongest force in her life, and she certainly would have left the *Tribune* if that was what he wanted.

Little more is known about her professional life following her departure from the *Tribune*, but it is clear that it included freelance publicity and fundraising jobs.[16] One client for which she apparently did considerable work was a hospital, the Spring Street Infirmary, which she later called "a terrible place."[17] None of this work seems to have been very satisfying, and it certainly was a step down from the *Tribune*. She must have been delighted when Bernays offered her a full-time writing position in July 1919.

Both Fleischman and Bernays consistently asserted that he hired her directly away from the *Tribune*. This claim both obscures how she spent the three years after she left the newspaper and neglects to recognize one additional freelance job she held during this time. A careful examination of the work Bernays carried out for both the Lithuanian National Council and the War Department in spring and early summer 1919 reveals that Fleischman wrote press releases for him before he opened his own office and officially hired her.[18]

Certainly she was a logical choice. She was looking for freelance work and Bernays had thought she was a talented writer since reading her high school fiction. They had lived around the corner from each other (he on West 106th Street, she on West 107th Street) since 1912. He had helped her make the contacts that led to her *Tribune* job, and she had gone with him to see "Damaged Goods" and other theatrical productions he promoted.[19] She also said that, during the time he edited the two medical magazines, "I wrote reviews and stories for him for fun."[20]

At the same time, his work was extensive enough to require help. In addition to organizing promotional events for the Lithuanian National

Courtesy of Susan Henry

Doris E. Fleischman and Edward L. Bernays, dressed for a night out, probably mid 1920s.

Council, he had agreed to produce six weekly press releases, which often required extensive research. His War Department work was more sophisticated and complex, involving the production of new programs, slogans and large numbers of press releases. Because he had both clients' releases typeset, bound into pads, and sent to newspapers and other publications, he also had to work extensively with printers and mailers. And he was quite well-paid, receiving $150 a week from the Lithuanian National Council and $100 (plus a large expense budget) from the War Department. So he certainly could afford to pay a freelancer.[21]

By the end of July, he also realized he could afford to rent his own three-room office on the fifth floor of an old building at 19 East 48th Street. He calculated his first month's expenses for rent and furniture at $1,357, and his first employee, Fleischman, was a bargain at $50 a week. She quickly helped him hire a secretary, a mail clerk, an office boy and his brother-in-law Murray C. Bernays, who was paid $75 a week to do research and some writing.[22]

Fleischman later blamed herself for not asking for a higher salary (she actually had requested $45), saying she knew little about money since she lived at home and her father supported her. Her salary "was extra and unimportant."[23] That for three years she had had no full-time job, and probably modest freelance income, also may have led her to give little thought to her salary when she was offered this position.

(In fairness, it seems possible that she might not have asked for more even if she had carefully considered her situation. A 1921 book about professional women noted that salaries for "experienced publicity consultants" were "around $50 a week, and are said to be about 10 per cent lower than those for men."[24] A 1920 book describing careers for women quoted a "director of one publicity agency" as saying that women "free-lance workers" could earn from $50-100 a week.[25] When she left the *Tribune,* Fleischman had been making $22 a week.[26])

Bernays had struggled with what to call his new business, finally settling on "Edward L. Bernays Publicity Direction." He hoped this would differentiate him from press agents by indicating that he would "direct actions of my client to get publicity and win public support."[27] But much of his work during the rest of 1919 seems to have been little different from his pre-war press agent activities in which he simply called attention to his clients (albeit often cleverly). One reason for this may have been that he had numerous theatrical clients. "I accepted these assignments because I was not yet well enough established not to," he explained.[28]

Other clients that year included the American Civil Liberties Union, Best Foods Company (for which he helped launch a new salad oil), and the Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropies (which was conducting a large fundraising drive). The Lithuanian National Council and War Department continued as clients through the summer.[29] By the end of December, Bernays had 10 employees and had earned about $11,000.[30]

Publicity and "Aggressive Publishing"

His largest client during his first year in his new office, and the one for whom he went on to work the longest, was the book publisher Boni and Liveright. It is useful to examine portions of this campaign because they typify key strategies Bernays and Fleischman were to use for many years and show how well-developed these techniques were at the start of their business. Specific contributions by Fleischman also can easily be identified.

Fleischman seems to have played a role in obtaining this client, since it was her much-adored older brother Leon who urged the firm's founder, Horace Liveright, to hire Bernays. A poet and former newspaper reporter, Leon had recently bought into the firm as a vice president and also served as its secretary and treasurer.[31] According to Bernays, Leon insisted that Bernays "could give the firm and the authors an imaginative type of publicity other publishers had not dreamed of using, that this would sell books and upgrade the list of authors by attracting good new ones."[32]

Whatever his sister's role, the match was an excellent one. Liveright, who hired Bernays in fall 1919, was a daring young publisher who was willing to gamble on unknown authors and controversial books. He had recently lured a few established authors like Theodore Dreiser to his firm, but he also was anxious to publish works by the Greenwich Village intellectuals who had been ignored by his rival publishers.[33]

"Other publishers deplored him, some envied him, and all had to admire his list," according to book historian John Tebbel. "If Liveright did not invent the literary renaissance of the '20s, he was at least its chief conductor."[34] And he was enthusiastic about shattering the old, staid molds of book publishing as well as the musty conventions of bookselling. He had, in Bernays' words, "faith in aggressive publishing." Bernays, in turn, was "eager to try out our strategies and tactics on books." He believed "books should respond more quickly to our techniques than almost any other commodity."[35]

During the year-long campaign, Bernays and Fleischman focused on expanding the book-reading public beyond the narrow audiences previously identified by most publishers. They prepared an attractive supplementary catalog highlighting the most important books—those that would be discussed wherever "men and women, who are interested in life and the books that express life, gather"—and bombarded 300 bookstores with weekly circulars on different books. In addition to mailing out constant short press releases, they sent 100 feature articles related to Boni and Liveright books to newspapers throughout the country.[36]

In what Bernays said was an application of a technique used in his government CPI work, these 1,000 to 1,500-word features were offered as exclusives to one newspaper in a town.[37] Editors first received brief synopses of articles "prepared for your free publication by our Doris Fleischman, who was until recently on the staff of the *New York Tribune*, and by other experienced feature writers." They returned postcards indicating the articles they wanted, which then were sent to them.[38]

A small number of books were singled out for special publicity efforts. One was Christopher Morley and Bart Haley's satire on Prohibition, *In the Sweet Dry and Dry*. Copious feature stories and shorter releases were supplemented by the creation of a booklovers tavern in New York's Majestic Hotel, whose bar had been closed by Prohibition. Books by Boni and Liveright authors replaced bottles behind the bar while some of these authors, as well as the president of the New York County chapter of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, were in attendance at its well-covered opening. This was the beginning of a campaign to turn "corner saloons" in 10 medium-sized towns into bookstores, and it also led to the creation of an American Council for Wider Reading, devoted to stimulating more reading by Americans.[39]

This work is a good example of a frequently used technique that Bernays variously labeled "the overt act," "created circumstances" and "the created event." As he explained it in 1923, with such activities the public relations practitioner "is not merely the purveyor of news; he is more logically the **creator** of news."[40] Working for Boni and Liveright, he said, "I studied each book not as literature, but to find ideas that might be emphasized to increase public interest in the volume. I then looked for a current news idea that could be correlated with the ideas I had isolated. Then I tried to dramatize these ideas."[41]

The campaign for *Iron City* by M. H. Hedges illustrates another technique—the "segmental approach"—that Bernays and Fleischman went on to repeatedly use. This strategy, Bernays explained, required the practitioner to "subdivide the appeal of his subject and present it through

the widest possible variety of avenues to the public."[42] Set on a college campus, *Iron City* dealt with a wide range of issues that Fleischman "subdivided" into features with titles such as "Can the College Woman Love?", "The Insecure Tenure of the College Professor—How He Is Pried Loose from His Job" and "Big Business and the American College—What Will Happen When the Two Are Divorced?" One release even asked the question, "Are the Children of College Parents Puny?"[43]

Other releases connected the book to current news events, including fall 1919 strikes in the coal industry and a strike by professors at the Carnegie Institute in Pittsburgh (the book portrayed a professors' strike). Author Hedges was asked to identify college professors who would be willing to talk with newspaper reporters about issues raised in the novel, letters extolling the book were sent to teachers unions, and attempts were made to obtain cooperative publicity with the Stutz Motor Car Company and Chicago's Marshall Field and Company (both prominently mentioned in the book).[44]

Another effective strategy was the association of specific books with well-known people—whether or not they had any real connection to the books. For example, to call attention to Adriana Spadoni's *The Swing of the Pendulum*, a novel dealing with a professional woman and her lovers, releases were prepared describing contemporary women activists like Alice Duer Miller and Helen Rogers Reid. Similarly, anarchist writer Hutchins Hapgood's novel, *The Story of a Lover* (written anonymously), was publicized with quotes from movie stars like Mary Pickford and Lillian Gish, who had supplied Fleischman with their definitions of love. Within six months, 11,000 copies were sold.[45]

The Boni and Liveright campaign bears examination in part because of its effects. Intellectual historian Ann Douglas said that it "made sellers out of books that were not natural sellers" and proved it was possible to "***create*** market receptivity and revenue."[46] Not everything they tried was successful, and no doubt much of this steady stream of publicity was ignored.[47] But they did succeed in helping to expand the appeal of books, and certainly excitement was generated for some Boni and Liveright titles that otherwise would have received little attention. Horace Liveright must have believed these kinds of actions were productive, for during the remainder of the decade he went on to spend over a million dollars promoting his books through public relations and advertising.[48]

More important, many other publishers began to adopt much more dynamic sales techniques aimed at broader audiences, while new compa-

nies publishing books for previously neglected markets were born. Bookselling changed.[49] By the end of the decade, according to John Tebbel, "Publishers were at last convinced of the value of promotion and publicity, much more so than they had been before the war, and for the first time they were willing to spend money on it."[50]

"A Nose for News and a Steady Compulsion to Write"

Bernays later wrote, "My work with Liveright represented a divide between what I had done—my press-agentry, publicity, publicity direction—and what I now attempted to do: counsel on public relations."[51] In 1920 Fleischman played at least one significant role in this change when she helped him coin the phrase "counsel on public relations" to describe what they saw as a new role: "giving professional advice to our clients on their public relationships, regardless of whether such advice resulted in publicity."[52] Bernays frequently credited Fleischman with being co-creator of this new title, also noting that she earlier had helped him develop the label "publicity direction" for the services he provided when he opened his office in 1919.[53]

She called on different talents in 1920 when the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People hired Bernays to stage a campaign for its Atlanta national convention, planned for late May and early June. This was the first NAACP convention ever held in the South, and the decision had been controversial among the organization's members. The city had been the scene of fierce race riots in 1906, lynchings and mob violence had increased since that time, and antagonism against local NAACP chapters had grown in other areas of the South.[54]

Hurriedly brought in after the regular NAACP publicity person became ill in early May, Bernays and Fleischman were largely ignorant about the problems faced by African Americans, particularly in the South. And because the convention would begin soon, they had to act quickly. Their only instructions were to get extensive good publicity into southern newspapers (most of which had previously shown little support for the NAACP). Otherwise, they were on their own.[55]

Bernays stayed in New York to work with northern media and, a week before the convention began, sent Fleischman by herself to Atlanta. Since they knew little about the situation in the city, her job was essentially to be an advance person—to "probe the territory from the standpoint of public opinion" and also, Bernays said, "to make arrangements for news coverage and to try to assure that some top Georgian political

figures would attend our meetings so that we could publicize the sanction our cause was receiving in Atlanta by their presence."[56]

Bernays explained that one reason he gave Fleischman this assignment was that he thought she would be able to avoid antagonizing the individuals she was trying to persuade to take actions they no doubt would have preferred not to take. He also believed the people she encountered would like her.[57] And her innocence meant that "no one could possibly mistake her for a propagandist for Civil Rights in the South."[58]

She first met with the city's mayor and the state's governor. According to Bernays, after the governor warned Fleischman that he thought whites were likely to cause trouble, she asked him to put the National Guard on reserve, which he did by phone as she sat in his office. Still, neither he nor the mayor ultimately agreed to attend the convention (the mayor did send an official welcome).[59]

She had more success when she next met with men at Atlanta's daily newspapers and wire service bureaus. They all agreed to either cover conference meetings or write reports based on news releases they received. The *Atlanta Constitution*'s city editor both consulted with Fleischman on how to cover what was for him an unusual event and asked her to provide stories on individual meetings and interviews with key participants. All of these media went on to provide substantial positive coverage.[60] According to Fleischman, "Their calm and matter-of-fact handling helped to make the community accept this invasion from the North quietly."[61]

Fleischman had received no NAACP briefing on the likely situation in Atlanta and was, Bernays said, "oblivious to the dangers of her mission."[62] Indeed, it was many years before she learned from NAACP Assistant Secretary Walter White that she had been accompanied by four bodyguards each time she left her hotel. Branded a "nigger lover" by some whites, she also had failed to notice the men standing around the hotel lobby who threw pennies at her feet to tell her they thought she was no better than a prostitute who would sell herself for pennies.[63]

She did express her relief that the city had stayed calm in a news release she prepared after the convention had ended. "Atlanta is breathing easier now . . . and so are the delegates," she wrote. She quoted one delegate as saying she couldn't wait to get home because "I feel as if I were sitting on a volcano."[64]

Bernays met her in Atlanta during the week of the convention and together they worked out a plan to guide their remaining work. After deciding on a "publicity platform" stating three themes they would stress in their releases, they set about "preparing copy for the newspapers under

constant deadlines."[65] Mary White Ovington, the NAACP chairman of the board who attended the conference, said that their technique "was to make friends with the reporters and do all their work."[66] They also telegraphed numerous stories to New York and Chicago newspapers.[67]

Their efforts appear to have been successful. Ovington remarked with surprise at "how fully and correctly the *Atlanta Constitution* reported our meetings."[68] Soon after the convention, the NAACP's Walter White informed Bernays that "the amount of publicity secured, largely through your efforts, was greater than at any other of the ten conferences preceding, although all of these conferences were held in northern cities."[69] Similarly, *The Nation* reported that this convention had received more publicity than any held previously.[70]

The convention also had strong personal meaning for Fleischman. When the meetings were over, she and Bernays met members of the NAACP northern delegation at the Atlanta railroad station and she insisted on joining the black delegates in the Jim Crow sleeping car for the trip north, even though it was illegal.[71] Forty years later, she said of her Atlanta experience, "No work I have ever done has had so deep and lasting an effect on me."[72]

Her work for other clients during this time was more routine, but they did keep her very busy writing and placing stories. She described herself during this time as having "a nose for news and a steady compulsion to write."[73] A fast writer (and typist) with an exceptional vocabulary, she also was an excellent editor. She often wrote between 15 and 20 stories a week, then took them to newspaper offices and worked to get them placed. Bernays said she was good at placing because, if editors wanted changes, she was able to quickly modify what she had written for them.[74]

Clients added in 1920 and 1921 included several theatrical producers and performers, *Good Housekeeping* and *Cosmopolitan* magazines, Cartier jewelers, the Waldorf Astoria Hotel, the Dort Motor Company, an accounting firm, a clothing company, and the National Council of American Importers and Traders.[75] Their "first big business client," in Bernays' words, was the U.S. Radium Corporation, which hired them in 1920 to promote radium's luminous properties for commercial use and its application in cancer therapy. Fleischman's stories, which were distributed in printed clip sheets for immediate use, had titles like "The Royal Jewel of Today," "Radium Becoming a Household Aid" and "Radium Bank for Those Who Bank on Radium."[76] The latter story described a service their client had established at their suggestion: a national radium bank, which

made radium accessible to physicians treating cancer patients (and called attention to the element's medical value).[77]

In addition to doing extensive writing during this time, Fleischman was the firm's office manager. From the start, Bernays said, she was "the balance wheel of our operation."[78] Thus she interviewed all job candidates, set up schedules, charted the work being done for different clients, kept the books and paid bills.[79]

One of the few surviving office memos between Fleischman and Bernays from this time nicely illustrates some of her responsibilities. Probably written in early 1921 when Fleischman planned to be briefly absent, it brought Bernays up to date on their campaigns for four key clients, left instructions for following up on specific tasks, explained the work others in the office would carry out, and detailed payments received and bills due. She said monthly vouchers had not yet been checked, but "Please do not do anything about this until I get back, because I'm not happy unless I do it myself."[80] No wonder Bernays asserted that her work "took the burden off me."[81] She certainly knew much more about how their office operated than he did.

Collaboration and a Changing Business

Fleischman likely took care of many of the details when in 1921 they moved from their three cramped rooms in an old building to newer, larger, more attractive offices at a "prime address" next to the elegant Ritz-Carlton Hotel on 46th Street and Fifth Avenue.[82] With the move she gained her own office, rather than sharing a crowded space outside of Bernays' office with other staff members, as she had previously.[83] Apparently, though, their staff stayed the same size it had been in 1919, when Bernays had 10 employees. [84]

Their staff may not have increased but their income certainly had. When they began, they tried to set their rates at a minimum of $75 a week, but by the early 1920s they were earning between $12,000 and $25,000 a year from most clients.[85] They certainly were able to afford nicer quarters, particularly since their business continued to expand. Clients added in 1922 included Macy's department store, the Hotel Association of New York (which hired them to publicize New York as a friendly place to visit), the National Prosperity Bureau, the Venida Hairnet Company, and numerous performers and event organizers.[86]

Occasionally, Fleischman was in charge of entire small campaigns. For example, in January 1921 she planned, carried out all of the publicity

Courtesy of Anne Bernays

Doris E. Fleischman, working at her desk in the firm of Edward L. Bernays, Counsel on Public Relations, late 1910s or early 1920s.

for and worked closely with the organizers of two charity fundraisers. (Her earlier fundraising work must have made these kinds of activities very familiar to her.) The first event was a musical review presented by the Cardiac Committee of the Public Education Association. The other, for which she obtained excellent advance coverage, was a symphony concert at Carnegie Hall to benefit the Babies Hospital of New York.[87] All surviving news releases for the latter activity are identified as "From Doris E. Fleischman, 19 East 48th Street." They contain no reference to Bernays.[88]

These are among the few examples of client contact that can be found for Fleischman. Indeed, Bernays repeatedly maintained that she never had client contacts.[89] But it is clear that, particularly in the early 1920s, she did have at least a small number of such contacts.

For example, in 1922, she made the initial contact and then met with the publisher of *American Agriculturist* to plan a campaign for his weekly magazine. Her notes from the meeting show that, among other things, she suggested ways of attracting more young readers through new

kinds of stories and the formation of boys and girls clubs, proposed a more scientific-sounding name for the magazine's testing department, advised that more articles be run about new patents (since this might encourage new advertising), and recommended that well-known public officials be solicited for articles, which then could be widely distributed to media organizations and interest groups.[90]

A year later, when she traveled to Europe by herself, she met with a French colonial official to work out a plan for *"tout le service de publicite en vue d'une campagne de propaganda intensive,"* which would promote US tourism to North Africa.[91] Since part of the purpose of her European trip was to meet with business and government officials who could help the firm, it seems likely that she made other client contacts there as well. Much later, Bernays denied that she met with any clients on this trip although that may simply be traced to faulty memory.[92]

There is no doubt, though, that her client contacts were limited. This was despite her extensive knowledge of public relations tactics and her demonstrated competence in working with people outside their agency. In addition to having been the contact person for at least a few small clients, she had worked successfully with New York newspaper editors as a "placer" and had been persuasive with the Atlanta editors making decisions about NAACP coverage.

She offered her own explanation for her lack of client contacts when she wrote, "Many men resented having women tell them what to do in their business. They resented having men tell them, too, but advice from a woman was somewhat demeaning." She feared "if ideas were considered first in terms of my sex, they might never get around to being judged on their merits."[93] Bernays closely echoed her explanation in his memoirs, using similar words to explain why clients didn't meet with Fleischman.[94]

Yet in interviews he gave a more pragmatic reason. "If it had been known I was linked up with a woman, I would have been considered an imbecile or somebody strange." Indeed, he believed that if her involvement had been known "when we started in 1919, it would have meant, I am sure, that we wouldn't have had any clients at all."[95] He also maintained that, since she was a woman, most clients would not have believed her, so it made no sense for her to work directly with them. Rather, her good ideas should be filtered through him so they would be accepted.[96]

Certainly she became more qualified to advise clients in the early 1920s as she spent less time writing and more time working with Bernays on campaign strategies. "I decided early on that writing was the least

important part of public relations," Bernays explained.[97] He said that about two years after they began, having realized that "actions spoke louder than words," they "changed from thinking that announcements to people were of value." As a result, Fleischman's writing skills became much less vital than her ability to "originate and develop programs for action." She thus wrote fewer and fewer news releases, Bernays said, since "I found her brain was a much greater talent than her writing, because as we moved along from that early period, we gave advice, and the advice is what they paid us for."[98]

Bernays was not able to explain precisely when these changes occurred and the written record is sketchy, but it does show Fleischman continuing to write and place stories at least as late as 1922.[99] Still, he was adamant that, from the firm's beginnings in 1919, the two of them developed campaigns together. As Bernays put it, "I had the advantage of [Fleischman] having a mind that I thought was as good as mine that I could always play with" in campaign development. After he met with clients, the two often brainstormed together—suggesting alternatives, identifying critical issues, speculating on outcomes, critiquing each other's ideas, talking through strategies.[100] No doubt one reason the agency could increasingly offer advice was that Bernays had someone with whom to collaborate in forming complex plans.

One additional change in 1922 can be much more precisely identified. On September 22, 1922, Fleischman and Bernays were married, and shortly afterwards they signed legal documents making them equal partners in the firm of Edward L. Bernays, Counsel on Public Relations.[101] They both came to refer to their life and work together after this time as their "24-hour-a-day partnership." It continued until Fleischman's death in July 1980.

"The Best Move I Ever Made"

Forty years after beginning his new firm, Bernays looked back over his career and wrote that hiring Fleischman in 1919 was "the best move I ever made in my life."[102] This article has shown some of the ways Bernays benefited from that decision during his firm's beginnings and early growth as well as the ways that decision changed Fleischman's own life.

In 1919 and 1920, when much of their work involved gaining publicity for their clients through news releases, Bernays relied on Fleischman to produce large numbers of them. She proved to be very

good at both writing and placing, and her ability to write diverse stories even about narrow subjects helped them use the "segmental approach." Her *Tribune* background also was used as a selling point in placing national stories for Boni and Liveright, and probably in other campaigns as well. Additionally, she freed Bernays from many practical day-to-day concerns by serving as his office manager.

Her value increased as she learned from her work experiences and they moved from doing "publicity direction" to the expanded "counsel on public relations"—a phrase they coined collaboratively in 1920. Bernays was an expert at publicity, but once he was moving beyond that, he needed someone with whom he could talk through possible new approaches, especially someone who had excellent ideas of her own. Their complementary abilities and personalities, evident from the beginning of their work together, help explain the highly productive synergy of their long collaboration.

They did differ significantly in their perceptions of their own strengths and roles. Bernays quickly came to see himself as a scientist, theoretician and philosopher. Anxious to apply techniques and ideas from the behavioral and social sciences to public relations, he loved developing principles, thinking broadly, intellectualizing. In interviews and his own extensive writings, he pontificated at length about his theories, finding meaning in them far beyond their immediate results.

Two public relations historians have aptly noted some of the most conspicuous qualities of his mind and personality. Scott Cutlip described Bernays as "a man who was bright, articulate to excess, and most of all, an innovative thinker and philosopher of his vocation."[103] Stuart Ewen called Bernays "the most important theorist of American public relations" and relied heavily on his key 1920s publications to describe the field's underpinnings. Yet Ewen still noted the "customary bombast" of those writings.[104]

Fleischman, though, was devoid of bombast. In contrast to her forceful, confident collaborator, she was modest and somewhat shy, seeming to have little need for the approval or attention of others. At the same time, she was far more organized and practical than Bernays (as shown, in a simple example, by her work as their office manager). She was able to help him translate his broad ideas into workable strategies and also had a particular talent for anticipating how the public would react to these strategies.[105]

An excellent listener and a quick, perceptive judge of people, she had much stronger interpersonal skills than Bernays. People tended to like her when they first met her, in part because they often found she understood them and was sensitive to their needs.[106] Daughter Anne Bernays, who noted that her father often had trouble reading people accurately, called Fleischman his "personal antennae for judging people."[107] He admitted that "her insight and judgment are better than mine."[108]

Given these strengths, it seems very likely that she would have contributed even more to the firm if her responsibilities had included consistent client contacts. But these contacts were minimal in the early years covered here, and by the end of the 1920s she apparently had none at all.[109] According to both Bernays and Fleischman, there was a simple reason for this: Clients would have either refused to work with her or disregarded her advice.

Yet this rationale contradicts what they said when they wrote about women working in public relations, rather than about their own work. Here, they expressed confidence that women could—and should—do everything men did. Thus in the three pieces Fleischman published about women public relations practitioners, she consistently described their client contacts and never mentioned any circumstances under which they shouldn't expect to have these contacts.[110] Similarly, when he wrote a chapter on public relations for inclusion in his 1927 book on careers, Bernays asserted, "Theoretically, there is nothing in this profession that a man can do that a woman cannot do." A woman, he said, "is limited mainly by her personal ability to make the men she deals with realize that she is as capable as if she were a man."[111] And a decade later, in a co-authored article on public relations careers, Fleischman and Bernays together declared, "There is nothing in this profession that a man can do that a woman cannot do."[112]

Clearly neither Fleischman nor Bernays believed other women working in public relations should avoid client contacts, and it must have been obvious that Fleischman was highly capable of carrying out such contacts. Indeed, despite their denials that she ever worked directly with clients, a few examples of her doing this can be found in the early 1920s. It seems likely that other cases also exist for this period, although documentation has not survived. Why, then, did they maintain that she neither had nor should have had these contacts? And why were the contacts she did carry out so minimal in importance and number?

Their daughter Anne offered a forthright answer: "He didn't want her to get the credit."[113] It also is a persuasive answer. Bernays was an exceedingly strong, assertive, dynamic person who loved his work and loved being recognized for it. His early background in theatrical publicity no doubt was an influence here. It is hard to believe that, if he could avoid doing so, he would have willingly shared credit for their work. Sharing credit with a woman at a time when professional women were not widely accepted was even more problematic.

The invisibility of Fleischman's role also was advantageous to Bernays because it helped him do something that he said was a priority in the early 1920s: "Make the word 'Bernays' stand for advice on public relations."[114] He very consciously promoted not only his clients but himself, while even as he was selling himself, he was selling the new field of public relations. As he put it, "Public relations would become a continuing free client."[115] He carried out two of his most significant early efforts to bring visibility and respectability to this free client (and himself) in 1923. In February, he began teaching the first university course on public relations (at New York University). And later that year, his *Crystallizing Public Opinion*—this country's first book on public relations—was published by Boni and Liveright. (Bernays orchestrated its elaborate promotional campaign.)[116]

Business historian Alan R. Raucher succinctly described Bernays as "an aggressively self-confident man, as sure about the social value of public relations work as he was about his own contribution to that field."[117] This description helps capture his own stake in being identified—as often as possible—as a major figure in the profession and in holding a position that would let him mold the field. There is no doubt that Fleischman helped him gain this influence, work successfully with clients and, when he was writing *Crystallizing Public Opinion*, form its ideas.[118] On a few occasions when he was unavailable, she even (very nervously) taught his New York University course.[119] But he was not about to give up the attention, authority and credit he received from client contacts by sharing them, as he no doubt would have had to do if his partner had been a man.

One significant finding of this article is that the patterns that were to characterize their partnership after their marriage were evident in 1919 and firmly established by the time they married in 1922. From the start, Fleischman brought much-needed writing skills to the business. Soon afterwards, she began collaborating with Bernays in developing strategies

and even naming their new profession. Then for six decades, Bernays admitted, her work was as vital to their business as his own, and she did everything he did except have client contacts. But, thanks to her public invisibility and his own prodigious talents for self-promotion, he was the focus of the frequent attention he made sure the firm attracted, receiving virtually all of the credit for its achievements. He benefited from their partnership in ways that were more than practical.[120]

Fleischman's rewards also were substantial, if more straightforward, and they are clarified by this examination of her early years with Bernays. Most important, she gained a career, and a chance to grow and succeed in it to an extraordinary degree. Although she had earlier been an accomplished newspaperwoman, she seems to have had little career direction and few firm options at the time Bernays hired her. She could not have anticipated that she would obtain the kind of rewarding, challenging, exciting position her job quickly became. In the beginning, Bernays taught her a great deal even as he took full advantage of her abilities. Most clients may not have known about or appreciated her work and talents, but he certainly did. She felt valued, and must have delighted in seeing measurable results of her work in their growing revenues and list of clients.

A close look at these early years also helps explain why, during the rest of her life, she consistently deferred to him in both their business and their marriage. In 1919 Bernays was Fleischman's boss. He had envisioned the new business that was to suit her skills so well, while it was his reputation—based on his initial remarkable success in theatrical publicity—that attracted many early clients. He offered her a good job, he determined the work she would do, he was her teacher. He also was supremely self-confident. It makes sense that he dominated their relationship at the start, while this early dominance is part of the reason why, 30 years later, she still maintained: "Eddie's word is final and he casts the deciding vote in our partnership. I have elected him Chairman of the Board and Executive President in our personal life and . . . in our public relations office."[121]

Looking back, she also pondered her lack of client contacts, saying that when she first joined with Bernays in 1919, "I decided that I would not try to compete with men because the hurdles were too great." Yet she admitted, "I surrendered without having seen an enemy. I wonder if I would try to avoid all conflict with men if I were to begin today."[122] These wistful words also might apply to her continuing personal and professional relationship with Bernays.

Still, she must always have thought she owed him a great deal. For, despite her 1913 fears of the ocean, she learned to swim exceedingly well and found the water far more agreeable than it had appeared when she graduated from college. It did not seem to matter greatly to her that she swam in the wake of a much more visible, powerful swimmer, since without him, she might well have sunk. And without her as his collaborator, he certainly would made a far less spectacular and enduring splash in this new profession.

Susan Henry thanks Rodger Streitmatter for his unflagging encouragement and good ideas during the many years of this research on Doris E. Fleischman, and for his superb Washington, DC, accommodations, which made it possible to collect much of the data for this article.

Endnotes

[1]Doris Fleischman Bernays, "Plus Ca Change, Plus C'Est La Meme Chose," *Phantasm*, Sept.-Oct. 1977, 3.

[2]Doris Fleischman Bernays, *A Wife Is Many Women* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1955), 167-68.

[3]"Edward Bernays, 'Father of Public Relations' and Leader in Opinion Making, Dies at 103," *New York Times*, 10 March 1995, A12.

[4]The only published scholarly works on Fleischman have appeared within the past two years: Susan Henry, "Anonymous in Her Own Name: Public Relations Pioneer Doris E. Fleischman," *Journalism History* 23 (Summer 1997): 50-62, and Susan Henry, "Dissonant Notes of a Retiring Feminist: Doris E. Fleischman's Later Years," *Journal of Public Relations Research* 10 (Winter 1998): 1-33.

The 1997 article is a very compressed biography of Fleischman, broadly covering all of her life. As a result, occasional duplication can be found in the information and analysis in it and in this *American Journalism* piece. The 1998 article looks at Fleischman during the three decades before her death in 1980.

Fleischman also is discussed sporadically in the recent (and only) biography of Bernays, Larry Tye, *The Father of Spin: Edward L. Bernays and the Birth of Public Relations* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1998). Despite having had access to much of this author's research, though, Tye says only a little about Fleischman's professional contributions to the firm and, in his many descriptions of individual campaigns, presents them as the work of Bernays alone. Fleischman most often is portrayed as a victim—a dramatic device to call attention to Bernays' failings. Tye's book also contains very little information about the public relations work Bernays and Fleischman carried out during the time period covered in this article.

[5]Edward L. Bernays, *Biography of An Idea: Memoirs of Public Relations Counsel Edward L. Bernays* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1965), 49-62.

[6]Transcript of Edward L. Bernays oral history (1971), Oral History Research Office, Columbia University, New York, N.Y., 448.

[7]Bernays describes these early years at length in *Biography of An Idea*, 62-152. The quotes are on pages 102 and 75.

[8]Ibid, 155-78. For a good description of the work of the CPI, see Stuart Ewen, *PR! A Social History of Spin* (New York: Basic Books, 1996), 102-27.

[9]See, for example, Ewen, 126-33; Scott Cutlip, *The Unseen Power: Public Relations. A History* (Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1994), 105-06; Alan R. Raucher, *Public Relations and*

Business, 1900-1929 (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1968), 73-74; Richard S. Tedlow, *Keeping the Corporate Image: Public Relations and Business, 1900-1950* (Greenwich, Conn.: JAI Press, 1979), 40-41.

[10]Bernays oral history transcript, 60-62.

[11]Ibid, 61-66; Bernays, *Biography of An Idea*, 187-94. Specific dates are from a chronology of his activities prepared by Bernays in box I:498, Edward L. Bernays Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. (hereafter LC).

[12]In her published and unpublished writings, Fleischman never mentioned any jobs she held before 1914. She always began describing her employment history by discussing her 1914 *New York Tribune* work. In interviews with this author, though, Bernays said her first job was doing fundraising and publicity for a "charity" devoted to "taking care of women." But he said he told her "she could learn nothing there," encouraged her to enter journalism, and introduced her to a reporter at the *New York Telegram*, who helped her get her job at the *Tribune*. See interviews with Edward L. Bernays, 26 March 1988, and 29 March 1988, Cambridge, Mass.

[13]It is exceedingly difficult to clearly chart the details of Fleischman's professional work before she was hired by Bernays. In most interviews and in their own writings, both Fleischman and Bernays maintained that she worked at the *Tribune* between 1914 and 1919, when she left to join Bernays. (Occasionally, she said she had started at the *Tribune* in 1913, soon after graduating from Barnard.) But her donated clippings files contain no *Tribune* articles with her byline before I November 1914; the last is dated 19 March 1916. See carton 1, file 2, Doris Fleischman Bernays Papers, Schlesinger Library on the History of Women, Cambridge, Mass. (hereafter Schlesinger Library). (Although it does not contain all that Fleischman wrote for the *Tribune*, this file does give a good sense of how productive she was during some weeks.)

Stronger evidence that she left the *Tribune* in 1916 is found in the brief biographies she (or Bernays) wrote to accompany her chapters in two books each of them edited in the 1920s. Both sources describe her as working at the *Tribune* from 1914 to 1916. See Doris E. Fleischman, ed., *Careers for Women: A Practical Guide to Opportunity for Women in American Business* (New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, 1928), 384, and Edward L. Bernays, ed., *An Outline of Careers: A Practical Guide to Achievement by Thirty-Eight Eminent Americans* (New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, 1927), opposite page 423.

Fleischman describes her *Tribune* work in Doris Fleischman Bernays, *A Wife Is Many Women*, 167-69, and in unused notes for *A Wife Is Many Women*, carton 1, file 33, Doris Fleischman Bernays Papers, Schlesinger Library. Her press pass for the Panama-Pacific International Exposition is in box I:3, Edward L. Bernays Papers, LC.

[14]Telephone interview with Camille Roman, 20 November 1995.

[15]Interview with Edward L. Bernays, 26 May 1986, Cambridge, Mass; Doris Fleischman Bernays, *A Wife Is Many Women*, 167-68; Doris Fleischman Bernays, "Plus Ca Change, Plus C'Est La Meme Chose," 3; Doris E. Fleischman, "Woman at the Lightweight Championship," *New York Tribune*, 14 March 1915.

[16]Interview with Edward L. Bernays, 29 March 1988, Cambridge, Mass. A small amount of material related to this work is in addenda, file 1, Doris Fleischman Bernays Papers, Schlesinger Library.

[17]Audiotape of interview with Doris Fleischman Bernays by MaryAnn Yodelis, July 1973, Cambridge, Mass. A few documents about the New York Dispensary are in addenda, file 1, Doris Fleischman Bernays Papers, Schlesinger Library.

[18] Fleischman's byline appears on articles about Lithuania and the servicemen's re-employment campaign published by newspapers in April, June and July–all before Bernays opened his office. See clippings in box III: 3, Edward L. Bernays Papers, LC, and addenda, file 1, Doris Fleischman Bernays Papers, Schlesinger Library.

[19]Doris Fleischman Bernays, *A Wife Is Many Women*, 169; "Doris and I" (a section in Bernays' notes for *Biography of An Idea*), 1-4, box I:462, Edward L. Bernays Papers, LC.

[20]Doris Fleischman Bernays, *A Wife Is Many Women*, 170.

[21]Bernays, *Biography of An Idea*, 188-92; "Finding My Way" (a section in Bernays' notes for *Biography of An Idea*), 1-22, box I:461, Edward L. Bernays Papers, LC; Edward L. Bernays oral history transcript, 61-66.

[22]Bernays, *Biography of An Idea*, 193-94; interview with Edward L. Bernays, 29 October 1989, Cambridge, Mass. Murray Bernays, born Murray Cohen, married Bernays' sister Hella in 1917. Shortly afterwards, he had his name legally changed to Murray C. Bernays to keep his wife's family name alive, since Edward, her only brother, had said he would never marry. Murray Bernays was divorced from Hella in 1924 but kept her last name. See "Murray Bernays, Lawyer, Dead; Set Nuremberg Trials Format," *New York Times* undated clipping, box III:6, Edward L. Bernays Papers, LC.

[23]Doris Fleischman Bernays, *A Wife Is Many Women*, 38.

[24]Elizabeth Kemper Adams, *Women Professional Workers* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1921), 307.

[25]Catherine Filene, ed., *Careers for Women* (Cambridge, Mass.: Riverside Press, 1920; repr., New York: Arno Press, 1974), 19.

[26]Doris Fleischman Bernays, *A Wife Is Many Women*, 38.

[27]Bernays oral history transcript, 72.

[28]Bernays, *Biography of An Idea*, 195.

[29]Bernays describes some of his clients during this time in *Biography of An Idea*, 194-99. Also see chronology, box I: 498, Edward L. Bernays Papers, LC, and receipt from H.P. Inman of the Lithuanian National Council for work done by Bernays, 19 August 1919, box III:6, Edward L. Bernays Papers, LC.

[30]Bernays, *Biography of An Idea*, 199.

[31]Walker Gilmer, *Horace Liveright: Publisher of the Twenties* (New York: David Lewis, 1970), 19; "Liveright" (a section in Bernays' notes for *Biography of An Idea*), 1-2, box I:458, Edward L. Bernays Papers, LC.

[32]"Liveright," 1.

[33]Gilmer, *Horace Liveright: Publisher of the Twenties* (New York: David Lewis, 1970), 10-20.

[34]John Tebbel, *A History of Book Publishing in the United States*, vol. III (New York: R.R. Bowker Company, 1978), 136, 138.

[35]Bernays, *Biography of An Idea*, 277-78.

[36]Ibid, 284; "Boni and Liveright–Book Publishers–Publicity Campaign" (a section in Bernays' notes for *Biography of An Idea*), 8-11, box I:457, Edward L. Bernays Papers, LC; the quote, taken from the foreword to the First Supplementary Catalog, is on p. 11.

[37]"Liveright," 17.

[38]Letter from Edward L. Bernays to the feature editor of the *Detroit Free Press*, 13 November 1919, box I:120, Edward L. Bernays Papers, LC.

[39]Bernays, *Biography of An Idea*, 280-81; "Boni and Liveright–Book Publishers–Publicity Campaign," 21-26, 37-39.

[40]Edward L. Bernays, *Crystallizing Public Opinion* (New York: Boni & Liveright, 1923; repr., New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 1961), 195.

[41]"Liveright," 10-11.

[42]Ibid, 137.

[43]"Boni and Liveright–Book Publishers–Publicity Campaign," 12-15; Bernays, *Biography of An Idea*, 282. Some of these releases are in box I:120, Edward L. Bernays Papers, LC.

[44]"Boni and Liveright–Book Publishers–Publicity Campaign," 14-20.

[45]Ibid, 74-75; Gilmer, 26, 63; Bernays, *Biography of An Idea*, 282-83.

[46]Ann Douglas, *Terrible Honesty: Mongrel Manhattan in the 1920s* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1995), 68.

[47]Bernays admitted, for example, that although the Majestic Hotel's "booklovers tavern" received extensive coverage in New York newspapers, *In the Sweet Dry and Dry* was not mentioned in any articles. See "Liveright," 16-17.

[48]Gilmer, 90. A large in-house advertising staff apparently took over all further promotional activities during the rest of the 1920s.

[49]Douglas, 67-71; Bernays, *Biography of An Idea*, 286.

[50]Tebbel, 335-36.

[51]Bernays, *Biography of An Idea*, 287.

[52]Ibid, 288.

[53]See, for example: ibid; Edward L. Bernays, *Public Relations* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1952), 78-79; Edward L. Bernays, "Emergence of the Public Relations Counsel: Principles and Recollections," *Business History Review* 45 (Autumn 1971): 301-02; interview with Edward L. Bernays, 28 May 1986, Cambridge, Mass;

[54]Charles Flint Kellogg, *NAACP: A History of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People*, vol. 1 (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1967), 137, 245-46; Mary White Ovington, *The Walls Came Tumbling Down* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1947; repr., New York: Arno Press, 1969), 177.

[55]Bernays, *Biography of An Idea*, 208-11; "The NAACP–1920" (a section in Bernays' notes for *Biography of An Idea*), 1-16, box I:459, Edward L. Bernays Papers, LC.

[56]"The NAACP–1920," 17.

[57]Interview with Edward L. Bernays, 29 March 1988.

[58]"National Association for the Advancement of Colored People" (a section in Bernays' notes for *Biography of An Idea*), 3, box I:459, Edward L. Bernays Papers, LC.

[59]"The NAACP–1920," 19-20; Bernays, *Biography of An Idea*, 211-13; Bernays oral history transcript, 236;

[60]Bernays, *Biography of An Idea*, 212-14; "The NAACP–1920," 20-22, 32-39.

[61]Doris Fleischman Bernays, *A Wife Is Many Women*, 170.

[62]"The NAACP–1920," 18.

[63]Bernays, *Biography of An Idea*, 211.

[64]Quoted in "The NAACP–1920," 39.

[65]Ibid, 25A-27, 29.

[66]Ovington, 178.

[67]"The NAACP–1920," 35-37; "National Association for the Advancement of Colored People," 4, 11, 18

[68]Ovington, 178.

[69]Walter White to Mr. E. L. Bernays, July 13, 1920, box III:6, Edward L. Bernays Papers, LC.

[70]According to Bernays in "The NAACP–1920," 53.

[71]Bernays, *Biography of An Idea*, 215.

[72]Doris Fleischman Bernays, transcript of a speech to the Radcliffe Club, 31 January 1961, 11, carton 1, file 39, Doris Fleischman Bernays Papers, Schlesinger Library.

[73]Ibid, 11.

[74]Interviews with Edward L. Bernays, 31 March 1988, and 28 May 1986, Cambridge, Mass; interview with Anne Bernays, 27 May 1986, Cambridge, Mass.

[75]Scattered information on clients for these years can be found in the alphabetically arranged client files, boxes I:56-421, Edward L. Bernays Papers, LC, and in Bernays, *Biography of An Idea*, 187-252.

[76]Bernays, *Biography of An Idea*, 188. The release titled "Radium Becoming a Household Aid" is in box III: 3, Edward L. Bernays Papers, LC.

[77]Bernays, *Public Relations*, 81.

[78]Bernays, "The Emergence of the Public Relations Counsel," 301.

[79]Interview with Edward L. Bernays, 29 March 1988; "Doris and I," (a section in Bernays' notes for *Biography of An Idea*), 7, box I:461, Edward L. Bernays Papers, LC.

[80]Undated (probably February 1921) memo from Doris E. Fleischman to Edward L. Bernays, box I:4, Edward L. Bernays Papers, LC.

[81]Interview with Edward L. Bernays, 29 March 1988.

[82]Bernays oral history transcript, 99.

[83]Interview with Edward L. Bernays, 28 May 1986.

[84]Although Bernays wrote very specifically about his 1919 staff and facilities, he had little to say about his later offices, so they cannot be described in the same kind of detail. The best evidence of the size of his 1921 office is in a memo dated 9 January 1923, which is addressed to 10 employees. See "Memorandum to Organization from E.L.B. and J.M.T. [J. Mitchel Thorsen]," box I:5, Edward L. Bernays Papers, LC. Significantly, one person listed on that memo—Kathleen Goldsmith—was a writer.

[85]Edward L. Bernays, *Your Future in Public Relations* (New York: Richards Rosen Press, 1961), 142. Also see the report on work for the Dort Motor Company, which shows that they were paid $600 for four weeks' work. ("Dort Motor Company, Inc." [a section in Bernays' notes for *Biography of An Idea*], box I:458, Edward L. Bernays Papers, LC.)

[86]See client files, boxes I:56-421, Edward L. Bernays Papers, LC, and Bernays, *Biography of An Idea*, 205-52.

[87]"Junior League of the Cardiac Committee of the Public Education Association" and "Babies Hospital Benefit–1921," (sections in Bernays' notes for *Biography of An Idea*), box I:461, Edward L. Bernays Papers, LC.

[88]See box I:105, Edward L. Bernays Papers, LC.

[89]Bernays was adamant about this whenever it came up in several interviews with this author. Similarly, in his memoirs, he wrote that Fleischman "has done everything in public relations, except get into the direct client relationships." (*Biography of An Idea*, 220.)

In her own published work, Fleischman was vague about client contacts, only hinting that she met with some clients in early years. (See *A Wife Is Many Women*, 171.) Her unused notes for this book are more explicit. An outline listing some of the advantages and disadvantages of working with her husband includes the statement: "I made contacts before marriage, but not after." (Doris Fleischman Bernays Papers, carton 1, file 19, Schlesinger Library.) But in every interview with her this author has located, she denied ever having had any contacts at any time.

[90]Doris E. Fleischman to Henry Morganthau, Jr., 9 May 1922; Henry Morganthau, Jr., to Doris E. Fleischman, 10 May 1922, and Fleischman's follow-up-notes from their May 12 meeting, box II: 1, Edward L. Bernays Papers, LC.

[91][First Name Illegible] Saint-Charbin to Mademoiselle Fleischman, 30 June 1923, box 1II: 2, Edward L. Bernays Papers, LC. (My thanks to Elizabeth Burt for the translation from the French.)

[92]Interview with Edward L. Bernays, 29 March 1988.

[93]Doris Fleischman Bernays, *A Wife Is Many Women*, 171.

[94]Bernays, *Biography of An Idea*, 221.

[95]Interview with Edward L. Bernays, 26 October 1989, Cambridge, Mass.

[96]Interviews with Edward L. Bernays, 28 May 1986 and 29 March 1988, Cambridge, Mass.

[97]Interview with Edward L. Bernays, 26 May 1986.

[98]Interview with Edward L. Bernays, 29 March 1988.

[99]"Memorandum to Organization from E.L.B. and J.M.T.," probably written in 1922, discusses the need for Fleischman to be free at set times during the week to meet with Bernays to discuss clients. It also refers to the need to hire new people to take over "a portion of the stories and releases Miss Fleischman is now burdened with." Additionally, an 28 April 1922, invoice itemizes costs related to production of one news release, listing the charge for "Miss Fleischman placing story" as $25.00. See box I:4, Edward L. Bernays Papers, LC.

100Interview with Edward L. Bernays, 26 May 1986. (Bernays discussed their extensive collaboration throughout their partnership in many interviews with this author. In this one, he explicitly stated that they strategized together from the start.)

[101]Interview with Edward L. Bernays, 24 May 1986.

[102]Bernays, "The Emergence of the Public Relations Counsel," 301.

[103]Cutlip, 169.

[104]Ewen, 163 and 170.

[105]Interviews with Doris Bernays, 27 May 1986, Cambridge, Mass., Anne Bernays, 27 October 1989, Cambridge, Mass., and Edward L. Bernays, 29 May 1988.

[106]Ibid.

[107]Interview with Anne Bernays, 18 October 1995, Cambridge, Mass.

[108]Bernays interview with Scott Cutlip, 12 March 1959, quoted in Cutlip, 169.

[109]See footnote 89 above.

[110]Doris E. Fleischman, "Public Relations," in Doris E. Fleischman, ed., *An Outline of Careers for Women*, 385-95; Doris E. Fleischman, "Public Relations: A New Field for Women," *Independent Woman*, Feb. 1931, 58-59, 86; Doris E. Fleischman, "Keys to a Public Relations Career," *Independent Woman*, Nov. 1941, 332-33, 340.

[111]Edward L. Bernays, "Public Relations," in Edward L. Bernays, ed., *An Outline of Careers*, 296.

[112]Edward L. Bernays and Doris E. Fleischman, "Public Relations as a Career," *Occupations. The Vocational Guidance Magazine*, Nov. 1937, 133.

[113]Interview with Anne Bernays, 27 October 1989.

[114]Interview with Edward L. Bernays, 28 May 1986.

[115]Bernays, *Biography of An Idea*, 289.

[116]Tedlow, 42-44. The original course description is in box I:462, Edward L. Bernays Papers, LC. Tedlow describes the final exam on p. 54, f72. Bernays' salary for teaching the course was $200; student tuition was $20.

[117]Raucher, 103.

[118]In his 1971 oral history (transcript, p. 77) Bernays calls *Crystallizing Public Opinion* "our first book." Two secondary sources also refer to Fleischman's involvement in conceptualizing this book: Cutlip, 178, and Eric F. Goldman, *Two-Way Street: The Emergence of the Public Relations Counsel* (Boston: Bellman Publishing Company, 1948), 18. But these assertions of her contributions seem to be based more on the authors' assumptions than on explicit statements from Bernays. My own conclusion, based on knowledge of their relationship in 1921 and 1922, is that they discussed much that went into the book as he wrote it, and that she helped a great deal in forming its key ideas.

[119]Audiotape of Doris Fleischman Bernays interview with MaryAnn Yodelis.

[120]For a detailed description of their "24-hour-a-day partnership" following their 1922 marriage, see Henry, "Anonymous in Her Own Name: Public Relations Pioneer Doris E. Fleischman," 54-60.

[121]Doris Fleischman Bernays, *A Wife Is Many Women*, 167.

[122]Unused notes for *A Wife Is Many Women*, carton 1, file 25, Doris Fleischman Bernays Papers, Schlesinger Library.

Great Ideas

Rethinking Objectivity in Journalism and History: What Can We Learn from Feminist Theory and Practice?

By Carolyn Kitch

Over the past several years, panels on objectivity—an ongoing series of debates over whether or not journalists can achieve this goal—have become common offerings on conference programs, just as they make for lively classroom discussions. This theme also underlies the practice and teaching of "public journalism," a professional model in which the role of journalists moves away from detached objectivity and toward an acknowledgment of involvement in the stories they cover. Such debates are almost always spirited, frequently controversial, and rarely conclusive.

This essay is an expanded version of my own comments on objectivity panels at both the Association for Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC) and American Journalism Historians Association (AJHA) 1998 conferences, in which I explained how reading feminist theory in a variety of scholarly disciplines has helped me to think critically about objectivity in my own work, as a journalist, a historian of journalism, and a journalism educator. These thoughts draw not only on disciplines outside journalism, but also on the work of female scholars in our own field, among them Catherine Covert, Brenda Dervin, and Linda Steiner, who have suggested that feminist theory and the history of women's experience are useful lenses through which to re-evaluate our understanding of the journalistic present and past.[1] The essay deals to a great extent with journalism today, yet it also is about history in two senses: it consid-

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ers the ways in which, throughout the American past, some female journalists have rejected the rhetoric of objectivity; and, in a broader sense, it discusses ideals that govern the practice of historical research as well as the practice of journalism.

At the start, I'd like to clarify my goal in offering these thoughts. After the AJHA session, one audience member expressed concern that I had painted a dichotomous picture of both gender and objectivity suggesting, essentially, that women are subjective and therefore good for journalism, while men are objective and therefore bad for journalism. This was not my intention at all. My exploration of this subject has been prompted by the fact that I do research on gender; in other words, I have gained a new perspective, which I bring to the classroom as well as to my research because of the specific nature of the scholarly literature in my own subfield.

Yet my thoughts on objectivity in both journalism and history are not exclusively feminist (or feminine).[2] This essay suggests not that objectivity itself is gendered, but rather that the work of some women—as journalists and as scholars—offers interesting ways for anyone to think about professional ideals. It further explores how debates about objectivity taking place in other fields, including the mainstream of the history discipline, can inform our own continuing discussions in journalism scholarship.

Objectivity Defined As Presence and Proximity

Traditional definitions of objectivity turn on metaphors of physical presence and promixity, of the literal positioning of oneself with regard to "the facts." According to professional standards, as they are usually taught in journalism schools, an objective journalist is unbiased, neutral, impartial, detached, balanced and invisible. (While this essay is primarily about journalism, it is worth noting that the ideal method of historical research is discussed in much the same terms.) These attributes characterize objective inquiry and lead to the revelation of "the news," which itself exists somewhere in a realm of its own, outside or beyond our own lives. This model for professional practice was neatly summed up by television journalist Daniel Schorr who, in his book *Clearing the Air*, described his work this way: "I remained the untouched observer, seeing the whole picture because I was not in the picture. The notion of being the invisible stranger always appealed to me."[3]

These kinds of words characterized my own journalism education and the mainstream of professional practice during the years I worked in the magazine business. Even though I worked in a field (women's magazines) that routinely challenged the notion of objectivity, I did not think critically about the central ideals of journalism until I began to do scholarly research that required me to read widely in interdisciplinary feminist theory. This time in my career happened to coincide with the beginning of debate about objectivity within both the journalism profession and journalism scholarship. What struck me about the reading I was doing was that, while it came from seemingly unrelated fields, the professional ideals these writers challenged were articulated in the very rhetoric of journalism.

In history, I read Joan Scott, one of the first scholars to question the definition of history as "that knowledge of the past arrived at through disinterested, impartial investigation and available to anyone who has mastered the requisite scientific procedures."[4] I also read Bonnie Smith, who rejects the historical trajectory of great men, institutions, and events, noting that in this story there is no place for women and women's lives—which do not "fit professional historical procedures and categories."[5]

In literature, I read Jane Tompkins, who laments the idea that the only professionally-legitimate subjects through which she might make a contribution to "knowledge" in her field are "impersonal" ones and must be discussed in an "authoritative language [that] speaks as though the other person weren't there."[6] In law, I read Carol Smart and Kathleen Lahey, who contend that law as a "method to establish the truth" generates a discourse of "reasonableness" that silences dissent and diminishes the legitimacy of alternative views that differ from precedent.[7]

In sociology, I read Dorothy Smith, who notes that "although sociological inquiry is necessarily a social relation, we have learned to dissociate our own part in it. We recover only the object of our knowledge as if it stood all by itself." In fact, she argues, "The only way of knowing a socially constructed world is knowing it from within. We can never stand outside . . . . Even to be a stranger is to enter a world constituted from within as strange."[8]

In science, I read Sandra Harding, who writes that "value-free objectivity . . . requires a notion of the self as a fortress that must be defended against polluting influences . . . .The self whose mind would perfectly reflect the world must create and constantly police the borders of a gulf, a no-man's-land, between himself as the subject and the object of

his research. . ."[9] And I read Donna Harraway, who argues for a new kind of scientific standard based on "positioned rationality," not "the view from above, but the joining of partial views. . . into collective subject position that promises a view. . . from somewhere."[10]

I realized that all of these scholars are concerned with two aspects of professionalism that are also at the heart of debate about journalistic and historical objectivity: what subject matter is considered professional, and what role the researcher/reporter plays in how those subjects are researched and written about. I also was intrigued by how closely these scholars examined the professional language of their fields. Their analyses helped me think about the language of journalism.

Analyzing the Language of Journalism

Chief among the spatial metaphors we use to talk about journalistic objectivity are two seemingly contradictory ideas: journalists position ourselves as being outside the news while also situating ourselves at its center. The very word "media" suggests a central position, just as television journalists "anchor" the news. Yet key to this notion of being at the center of the news is the assumption that we have no actual contact with it—almost as if we were in the eye of a storm swirling around us.

Though this removal is psychological, it is described as physical. We speak of maintaining a professional "distance" from our sources and the events we write about. The word *dis*-tance suggests that we have no stance, no opinion on the news. Instead, we are "neutral" (a word that means "without color"). In the same breath that we talk about getting the "inside scoop," we position ourselves as non-participants in the story; we remain "unbiased" (not slanted in one direction or another). Our coverage is "balanced," the fulcrum point between two "sides" of the story. We are without an agenda, and thus, presumably, without agency. We avoid writing in the first person, using what Virginia Woolf called "the 'I' that casts a shadow across the page."[11]

In these ways, we are simultaneously inside and outside the story. Yet sometimes we are ***above*** it, as Schorr implied in claiming to "see the whole picture." A similar perspective is invoked when we say that we "cover" stories. We see them from overhead, and, like a bird, we see the entire picture, which is not clear to the actors mired in the details and passions of the event itself down below. Even when we admit our presence at a news event, we say that we are ***on*** rather than ***in*** the scene.

Of course, all of this language, and journalists' claims of detachment, are frequently undermined by the realities of professional practice. It is

impossible to be the invisible stranger when we arrive with news trucks and lights and cameras and when we appear on videotape quite literally in the picture. Yet even in print journalism, there are consistent departures from our detachment ideals, and, ironically, some of these departures are among the most celebrated aspects of journalism. One is the claim of "eyewitness" status, a process of reporting from one's own literal perspective. Another is "literary journalism" (which shaped practice in the early 1900s as well as the 1960s), the use of narrative techniques to provide interpretation and meaning. A third example is the most venerated form of journalism, investigative reporting, an active rather than reactive practice in which reporters *"un*cover" scandal, thus creating rather than merely covering news that is out there happening all by itself without our help.

The Rhetoric of Objectivity in Journalism History

I've been better able to understand these contradictions in journalism from my readings of other scholars who are struggling to understand the rhetoric of objectivity in their fields. It so happens that they are feminist scholars. Actually, ***any*** scholars in their fields could have come up with a similar critique of objectivity, just as one doesn't have to be female to think about the rhetoric of journalistic objectivity. So why focus on the writings of women? Because they have been at the forefront of debates about objectivity. "Objective" knowledge across disciplines has frequently left out women, women's experiences, and women's interests entirely. Consequently, many scholars interested in women's lives have questioned the usefulness of objectivity.

So too have some female journalists questioned the nature, content, and voice of "objective" news throughout the American past. A look back at their work illustrates not only a women's perspective on journalism, but also the long history of tensions over the norms of journalistic practice. During the mid-19th century, newspaper writers such as Fanny Fern and Jenny Croly wrote about "women's" (social rather than political) topics, and often wrote with "empathy" or "sentiment" (subjectively).[12] In 1896, in a speech titled "How to Make a Newspaper Interesting," 23-year-old reporter Willa Cather told the women's division of the Nebraska Press Association that good journalism "must go beyond the dishing-out of facts" and instead offer personal commentary.[13] In the 1940s, syndicated newspaper columnist Dorothy Thompson referred to her work as "altogether female," meaning that she spoke her mind and didn't hide her identity.[14] Documenting the fraying American social fabric of the 1970s,

Joan Didion redefined what people and places were "newsworthy" and, in magazine articles, recorded her own reactions to the scenes she encountered.[15] Not all of these journalists thought of themselves as "women writers," yet all wrote subjectively, connecting with their subjects as well as their readers.

For more than 150 years, subjectivity has been the editorial foundation of women's magazines, from *Godey's Lady's Book* to *Ms.*, and this may be one reason for their journalistic marginalization. Their common use of first person and the overt connection their editors make with readers (these magazines are nearly a conversation: there is definitely someone on the other end) remove their content from the realm of objectivity, as does their subject matter—relationships, parenting, health, and other service material—which is rarely considered "news" or "real journalism."

Yet in other contemporary settings, some female journalists have been taken more seriously when they've rejected the rhetoric of objectivity. Yunghi Kim, a female photojournalist who has won international honors and has been a Pulitzer finalist for her depiction of poverty in Africa, believes that her success is due in large part to the fact that she empathizes with the people she photographs: "There has to be a bonding with my subjects," she says. Another female journalist ***did*** win the Pulitzer Prize when she put herself into the story. When she began working for *The New York Times* in the 1970s, Anna Quindlen believed "that I was meant to be hidden from the reader, a byline without a face, a voyeur without a point of view."" She later changed her mind and wrote her prize-winning, highly-personal "Life in the 30s" column, which cast a mother's life—her ***own*** life—as journalism.

The Other Side of the Mirror

Quindlen uses the metaphor of a one-way mirror, through which the examiners can see the examined, but not the other way around, to describe the journalistic objectivity she found less and less useful. She writes: "I slipped to the other side of the mirror. It was an odd thing to do. Even I disapproved of it somewhat. I grew up holding a third person to my chest, like a shield, having no political party affiliation, no public persona, no expressed opinions. Suddenly I dropped the pretense, and week after week I said things that third persons do not say." The fact that she won the Pulitzer Prize for doing so raises the interesting notion that subjectivity may not only be ***not a bad*** thing; it might actually be a ***good*** thing.

When I was doing women's studies coursework during my doctoral studies, I was struggling through the writing of an essay that asked the same question we tend to ask at our conferences and in our classrooms: *Can journalists really be objective?* A fellow graduate student, who was an anthropologist and a filmmaker, read a draft of this work and offered a margin comment that I (being, after all, a journalist) found astounding at the time. She wrote: "Maybe the question isn't whether 'objective truth' is or is not possible. Maybe the question is: Why is the concept of a 'subjective truth' devalued? Why is it associated with lack of truth?""

Scientist Sandra Harding, whom I quoted earlier in this essay, makes a similar point. She advocates what she calls "strong objectivity," a methodology that is informed, rather than tainted, by the researcher's acknowledgment of his or her point of view. This is otherwise known as standpoint epistemology, the theme of the most recent work I've read by a feminist scholar on this subject in our field, an article in the May 1998 *Communication Theory* in which Meenakshi Gigi Durham calls for new journalistic standards requiring reporters to "summon a critical, reflective consciousness as part of reporting." In this view, incorporating one's own bias becomes part of professional method.

Durham's theoretical critique echoes the debates underway in other disciplines; it is also remarkably similar to Quindlen's description of her work for *The New York Times*. None of the writers whose work I've discussed in this essay has suggested abandoning professional ethics. Yet they all envision a reformulation of the goal of objectivity into one of accountability, a model for practice that turns on metaphors of connection rather than detachment, of visibility rather than invisibility. And the journalists among them have done so for some time—suggesting that what we think of as a modern debate may in fact be a historical one. They ask us, as my classmate did, to consider the value of "subjective truth." They call for our willingness to see our own shadow on the page. As journalists and as scholars, we might consider, and encourage our students to imagine, how that shadow shapes both news and history.

Endnotes

1. Catherine L. Covert, "Journalism History and Women's Experience: A Problem in Conceptual Change," *Journalism History* 8, no. 1 (Spring 1981), 2-6; Brenda Dervin, "The Potential Contribution of Feminist Scholarship to the Field of Communication," *Journal of Communication* 37, no. 4

(Autumn 1987), 107-121; Linda Steiner, "Feminist Theorizing and Communication Ethics," *Communication* 12 (1989), 157-173. Covert suggested a reconsideration of historical time in light of women's life experiences. Dervin notes that feminist scholarship offers a model of work that is "self-reflexive about the relationship and responsibility of the researcher to the researched" (109), while Steiner considers the usefulness of feminist theory in re-evaluating journalism ethics, including what she called "the 'objectification' of mass media 'subjects'" (169).

2. Nor, clearly, is the critical analysis of objectivity solely a feminist enterprise. Many of the questions I raise here have previously been raised by male scholars who have taken a historical view (and on whose work I also draw) including Michael Schudson, *Origins of the Ideal of Objectivity in the Professions* (New York: Garland, 1990); Jay Rosen, *Getting the Connections Right: Public Journalism and the Troubles in the Press* (New York: Twentieth Century Fund Press, 1996); and David T. Z. Mindich, *Just the Facts: How "Objectivity" Came to Define American Journalism* (New York: New York University Press, 1998).

3. Daniel Schorr, *Clearing the Air* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1977), viii.

4. Joan Wallach Scott, "Women's History," in *American Feminist Thought at Century's End*, ed. Linda S. Kaufman (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1993), 238-39.

5. Bonnie G. Smith, "Gender, Objectivity, and the Rise of Scientific History," in *Objectivity and Its Other*, ed. Wolfgang Natter, Theodore R. Schatzki, and John Paul Jones III (New York and London: Guilford Press, 1995), 64.

6. Jane Tompkins, "Me and My Shadow," in *The Intimate Critique: Autobiographical Literary Criticism*, ed. Diane P. Freedman, Olivia Frey, and Frances Murphy Zauhar (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), 31.

7. Carol Smart, *Feminism and the Power of Law* (New York: Routledge, 1989), 10; Kathleen A. Lahey, "Reasonable Women and the Law," in *At the Boundaries of Law: Feminism and Legal Theory*, ed. Martha Albertson Fineman and Nancy Sweet Thomdsen (New York: Routledge, 1991), 5.

8. Dorothy E. Smith, *The Conceptual Practices of Power: A Feminist Sociology of Knowledge* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1990), 22-23.

9. Sandra Harding, *Whose Science? Whose Knowledge? Thinking from Women's Lives* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), 158.

10. Donna J. Haraway, "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective," in *Simians, Cyborgs*, and Women: *The Reinvention of Nature* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 196.

11. Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One's Own* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1929),103.

12. Among a number of sources that recount the careers of Fern and Croly is Maurine Beasley and Sheila Gibbons, *Taking their Place: A Documentary History* of *Women and Journalism* (Washington, DC: American University Press, 1993).

13. Bernice Slote, ed., *The Kingdom of Art: Willa Cather's First Principles and Critical Statements, 1839-1902* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), 27, based on accounts of the speech in the *Nebraska State Journal* (31 January and 1 February 1896) and the *Beatrice [NE] Weekly Express* (6 February 1896).

14. Quoted in Anna Quindlen, *Thinking Out Loud: On the Personal, the Political, the Public and the Private* (New York: Random House, 1993), xvii, xxvii.

15. Many of these articles, which originally appeared in *The Saturday Evening Post, Esquire, Life, Vogue*, and other magazines, are collected in *The White Album* (New York: Pocket Books, 1979) and *Slouching Towards Bethlehem* (New York: Pocket Books, 1981).

16. Quoted in Sherry Ricchiardi, "Getting the Picture," *American Journalism* Review (January/ February 1998), 29.

17. Quindlen, *Thinking Out Loud,* xix.

18. Anna Quindlen, "Life in the 30's," *The New York Times* (1 December 1988), C1.

19. This comment was made by Francesca Soans of Temple University during the spring of 1996.

20. Harding, *Whose Science?,* 16 1.

21. Meenakshi Gigi Durham, "On the Relevance of Standpoint Epistemology to the Practice of Journalism: The Case for 'Strong Objectivity,"' *Communication Theory* 8, no. 2 (May 1998), 133.

Book Reviews

In this issue, we are returning to our roots to take a long look at some recent publications in journalism history. As always, the field is enriched with a treasure of new goods including a fine study of the suffragist movement and the press, memories of an editor who worked on Fleet Street in London, the tale of the Binghams of the Louisville, Kentucky, press family, a collection of dispatches issued during the Russian Revolution, a study of the relationship of the French press and the US Civil War,, a fine study of the Tombstone, Arizona, wild west journal The Epitaph *and a look at Hollywood between 1918 and 1939. Of course, we will open with the editor's choice, a book that pays homage and respect to media historians by a journalist with a creative bent relating to one of the most significant events in early 20th Century America.*

>David R. Spencer, Book Review Editor

✓ Editor's Choice

Big Trouble

By J. Anthony Lukas, New York, N.Y.: Touchstone Books, 1998, 875 pp.

When I first picked up a copy of J. Anthony Lukas' *Big Trouble* at the Pittsburgh Airport, I did not think at the time that the work would be one which I would want to bring to the attention of media scholars. After all, this heavyweight, 875 page volume is the history of the murder trials of three western miners' union leaders in early 20th century Idaho. So, what do Big Bill Haywood, Charles Moyer and George Pettibone have in common with the press? Plenty, it turns out. But before launching into Lukas' interesting perspectives on Gilded Age media, a summary of the book's contents are in order.

Fundamentally, the book tells the story of the murder of retired Idaho Governor Frank Steunenberg at Christmastime in 1905. Steunenberg had presided over one of the most difficult periods of Idaho history when miners in the Coeur d'Alene region rebelled violently against the autocratic rule of the area's mine owners. Although his loyalties were never clear, miners thought that the Governor was the agent of the owners. And of course, the owners were unhappy with Steunenberg over

what they felt were fairly lenient approaches to the miners. Then, someone planted a bomb at the ex-Governor's gate, sending him into eternity and igniting a class struggle for the heart of America which eventually superseded the intensity of the Haymarket Affair and its aftermath.

I can say with sincerity that Anthony Lukas is a gifted writer. This book puts to bed the concept that only professional scholars can research and write meaningful history. Lukas has the touch that made William L. Shirer's many writings so vivid, so colorful and so exciting. As we know, Shirer's German memoirs of Adolf Hitler in *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* were treated with a disdain bordering on contempt by leading members of the Northeastern historical establishment who implied that such a work by an amateur must be filled with errors and conjecture. After all, Shirer was a journalist, not a historian.

Lukas begins his tale by taking us to the scene of the activity. He paints a vivid picture of life in Caldwell, Idaho, the home town of Frank Steunenberg. One by one, the major characters in the ex-Governor's political and business careers begin to appear, each given sufficient space that the reader begins to think he/she will eventually know these people on a familiar if not intimate basis. After "coloring" life in Idaho, Lukas takes us to rough and ready Denver, Colorado, where the Western Federation of Miners, under its bombastic leader Big Bill Haywood, is headquartered. It is here that the story begins to unfold with Haywood and his cronies pitted not only against the government of Colorado and the mine owners but a man who is referred to throughout the text as "The Great Detective," Pinkerton agent James McParlan. McParlan had become a legend in his own time for his work in infiltrating the Molly Maguires in Pennsylvania some years previous. It is McParlan who succeeds in orchestrating the abduction of Haywood, Moyer and Pettibone who are spirited by rail from Denver to Boise throughout the night to an uncertain fate in front of a jury.

So why should this book mean something to journalism historians? For one, Lukas uses newspapers as sources to define many of the lesser known but critical factors in the case. But more significantly, he devotes 55 pages titled "Gentlemen of the Press" to discuss the behaviour of the journalism community at Haywood's trial. The chapter is gripping, as is much of Lukas' dialogue. It is here that we see the pursuit of story, the commercialization of the press and the implications of what it means to have a press war take place thousands of miles from the scene of the action. Lukas lines up the characters on two sides of an imaginary line, those journalists who favor Haywood and write for his acquittal and those

who seem to be in the back pockets of the mine owners and their friends in the political establishment who are advocating conviction and execution. In one instance, he tells the tale of how a group of leading reporters for metropolitan dailies get access to Harry Orchard, a convicted criminal and the leading state witness against Haywood while the socialist papers, in particular Julius Augustus Wayland's *The Appeal to Reason* are not invited to share the moment. Lukas notes that the newspaper reporters are seated in the courtroom by their specific approach to the trial. Those sympathetic to conviction are given the best seats and the best facilities while those writing in favor of the accused are shuffled off to the back of the courtroom.

This is in reality a book about characters. Throughout its pages, we are introduced to Ethel Barrymore, baseball great Walter Johnson, Theodore Roosevelt, railroad entrepreneur E. H. Harriman, William Allen White, Eugene Debs and of course Haywood's defense attorney Clarence Darrow. This is both one of the book's major strengths, but also one of its weaknesses. There were many times when the Haywood story took a back seat to what the author must have considered enriching information. Without significant powers of concentration, it is highly likely that the reader could get lost in what seemed to be a multiplicity of sub-plots and diversions.

Reading this book takes work. It is best to digest it in small pieces. It is very dense, almost a complete lesson in American history in the compact period between Haywood's arrest and his acquittal. Yet, it is worth the effort. It is a finely crafted piece not only of scholarship but of journalism. Its 57 pages of notes in what appears to be six point Times Roman type speak to the work that Lukas put into researching and writing this story. He notes that the murder "sets off a struggle for the Soul of America" in a time period when the threat of class warfare was looming on the horizon of a society in the creation process. It is not often that we get this kind of intense contribution by a journalist who speaks to journalism history as a major player in a major event. Let us hope we get more.

>David R. Spencer, University of Western Ontario

Dispatches From The Revolution: Russia 1916-1918

By Morgan Philips Price & Tania Rose, (eds.), Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998. 175 pp.

It is hard to imagine how anyone could have been more qualified to cover the Russian Revolution than Morgan Philips Price. When he became the *Manchester Guardian*'s special correspondent to Russia in 1914, he was 29 years old, had traveled extensively throughout Russia since he was 25, and spoke fluent Russian. He stayed in Russia through 1918, writing for the *Guardian* even after his dispatches had stopped appearing by demand of the British censors. When he could no longer depend on money from Britain, he took a job as a translator for the revolutionary government. At the end of 1918, he moved to Berlin, where he served as correspondent for the *Daily Herald* until he returned to Britain in 1923.

His coverage of, and later participation in, the revolution caused a great change in Price. When he first went to Russia, it was as a capitalist, representing his family's timber business. By the time he left, he was firmly convinced that the world's salvation lay in the rise of the working classes to dominate governments. As his political views changed near the end of the revolution, he even began writing propaganda pamphlets for the revolutionary government. This gradual change in attitude is reflected in his dispatches, and adds complexity to a fascinating view of one of the most critical events in history.

In his foreword to the book, Eric Hobsbawm points out that Price's writings about the Russian revolution have been largely forgotten, and that this book, edited by Price's daughter, Tania Rose, "is an extraordinarily valuable compilation of Price's published and unpublished writings about the Russian Revolution, many of them hitherto virtually or entirely inaccessible." The purpose of the book, however, is not entirely clear. It does, in fact, include many unpublished letters, but much of the most critical content is reprinted from his previous books and newspaper accounts.

On the other hand, the book could not stand alone as a comprehensive history of the Russian Revolution, but is most valuable as contextual material for people already familiar with events of the period. It is, rather, like a series of snapshots. Rose, recognizing the need for more historic information, provides introductory essays to each chapter, an epilogue, biographical notes, and explanatory notes and references. These elements do provide historical context, but unfortunately they also tend to make

for a lot of paging back and forth. The difference in writing style between Rose's connecting sections, Price's articles, his formal letters, and his informal notes and postcards adds to the problem. One result of this disjointedness is that concepts are sometimes introduced and either never pursued, or followed up so much later that the original reference has been forgotten.

The notes and index are generally quite good, and add to the book's usefulness as a reference work, but are not without gaps. For example, Rose, in her introduction, refers to Arthur Ransome and John Reed, two other correspondents in Russia during the time Price was there. The biographical notes include helpful background information about Reed, but Ransome is excluded. Rose's writing in the introduction, historical sections in each chapter, and epilogue is functional, solid and businesslike, but not very exciting. Price's writing is varied, sometimes a bit workmanlike, but more often quite colorful and evocative. Not surprisingly, he is at his weakest when compiling factual information from the Russian press to keep his British audience appraised about political and economic events in Russia. It doesn't help non-British readers that he sometimes likens these events to British situations of the time. For example, to explain a particularly complex political point, he says, "A similar situation would be created in England if the Conservatives and Liberal Imperialists ceased to exist and the Radicals and the Labour Party were defending the national idea of British democracy against the Independent Labour Party and the British Socialist Party, standing for the dictatorship of the Trade Union Congress and the international Parliament of labour." Oh, right!

When giving eyewitness accounts, however, his writing is much more expressive, as in his description of Kerensky's rebuttal of Lenin: "He paused and walked slowly across the platform towards the corner where the group surrounding Lenin sat. Not a sound was heard in the great hall, and we waited spellbound for the next sentence. 'I will not be the dictator that you are trying to make,' and so saying he turned his back scornfully upon Lenin, while the assembled delegates thundered their applause." It is when Price leaves the city, however, to travel throughout the Asian provinces and give the common peoples' reactions to the revolution, that his work really shines. For 20 pages in the middle of the book, he evokes a picture of the people—their situations and their surroundings—so compelling as to draw readers in completely. It is in this section that it becomes clear just how different the situations were for the various groups, from the peasants of the northern Volga region who lived under

such tyrannical rule of the landlords that they couldn't kill them and divide up their land quickly enough, to the Cossacks of the East who already held their land communally, even redistributing it every 25 years.

Despire a few inherent shortcomings, *Dispatches from the Revolution* is a fascinating insider's look at events surrounding the Russian Revolution. It provides insights on some aspects of the period that might not be available through other means. In discussing the effect of World War I on the revolution, for example, Price says: "The war and the desire to end it is the one thing that links the confused social mass together in this third stage of the Revolution, and as soon as there is peace it will break up into its component parts and create new combinations and coalitions for the political struggle in the fourth stage."

Price offers political insights informed both by the fact that he was—for the most part—an objective observer, while, concurrently more knowledgeable about the situations of the various groups than almost anyone else at the time. It was this dual role that allowed him, for example, to say about the Moslems in Turkestan: "Needless to say, they are quite unaffected by the programme of the Russian Socialist Revolutionary Party. 'Land and Liberty' has no meaning for them. No one in Turkestan wants land because it is all desert. But everyone wants water, and no party has come forward promising 'Water and Liberty' because the water in Turkestan depends not on the political situation in Petrograd but on the snowfall in the Pamir plateau. "This book offers a perspective on the Russian Revolution that only a person such as Price—and he may have been unique in the situation, a foreign journalist living as a Russian during the revolution—to see the reality of the situation in terms such as: "Let it be remembered that we are dealing here with 180 million people covering the greater part of two continents, in which the industrial system of Western Europe has only just begun to exist. Now three years of war has simply destroyed this tender plant and has reduced the country to the economic state of Europe in the Middle Ages. This is indeed a fact."

>Roy E. Blackwood, Bemidji State University

Fleet Street Around the Clock

By Gordon Allan, London, England: The Alpha Press, 1998, 75 pp.

As Gordon Allan asserts in the preface, "This is the story, different in detail, but no different in kind from many others, of one provincial

who came to Fleet Street when it was Fleet Street . . ." But this brief memoir is also about "Newspaper life before laptops replaced typewriters and hot metal now relegated to the past . . . the days when Fleet Street — the real Fleet Street —was the goal of every young journalist with . . . ambition . . . [and] . . . the sense of learning the craft of writing for a newspaper was paramount."

Allan was one of these aspiring young men in post-World War II Britain who entered journalism directly from secondary school (in Allan's case, the Aberdeen Grammar School) and who, after an apprenticeship on two Scottish newspapers, migrated to London. In the metropolis, his career in Fleet Street was spent mostly on *The Times* before the "Thunderer" left "The Street of Ink" for Wapping in the resuscitated East London. Working mostly as a sub-editor (often laboring in exhausting night shifts) and stints as a sports reporter and columnist, Allan was able to observe and know prominent newspapermen and editors. He provides some very perceptive thumbnail sketches of these worthies. Equally important are his accounts of the year-long closure of *The Times* in 1979 and, as ordered by the newspaper mogul, Rupert Murdoch, the overnight move of the paper from Gray's Inn Road to Wapping.

Always interested in creative writing as a youth, Allan primed himself for a career in journalism by studying the *Kemsley Manual of Journalism* and *Whitaker's Almanack* and began work as a low ranker on the *Aberdeen Evening Express*, the *Press and Journal*, and the *Weekly Journal*. His first job in London was in the *Daily Telegraph's* sub-editors room, which was not a "happy office", especially under the irascible Brian Roberts and his successor, the dreadful, ruthlessly ambitious Peter Eastwood. As Allan wryly notes of these notorious Fleet Street ogres, Roberts and Eastwood had charming sides, but that was forgotten when the other side was so objectionable. Under Eastwood, "the harassed sub-editors were forced to waste much time going back over previous work to correct alleged mistakes and contravention of style pounced on by Eastwood." As Allan notes, ". . . it is a miracle the paper ever came out . . . ." After a year of this tyranny, Allan left the Telegraph for a year of work on the *Edinburgh Scotsman* in the early 1960s, but he returned to London to work briefly with the Press Association and *Reuters* before joining *The Times* in 1965 as sports sub-editor and occasional columnist and here he remained until retirement and work as a free-lancer.

In these reminiscences, Allan also provides some interesting portraits of that accomplished *Times* Sports Editor, John Hennessy, and the gifted

team of sports correspondents he had assembled who made *The Times*. one of the best British papers on sports news. Another one of Allan's great heroes is the renowned doyen of cricket writers and music critics, Neville Cardus. And, of course, there is Allan's appreciation of Louis Heren, the son of a *Times* printer, brought up in the rough East End, who spent a lifetime in the service of *The Times* rising from messenger boy to star foreign correspondent and Deputy Editor. He died a disappointed man because the Editorship which would have crowned his life's work, eluded him because of his plebeian background and, no doubt, his lack of Oxbridge credentials.

One of Allan's most interesting accounts is his work as a "stone sub" — the sub-editor who remains behind, after every one has gone, to work with the notoriously rough and independent-minded printers on page changes for later editions of the paper. He also endured industrial malpractice and unofficial strikes in the production and clerical departments which led to the year long closure of *The Times* and the move to Wapping. According to Allan, the move and Rupert Murdoch's proprietorship did not make the paper better.

Allan also has some interesting things to say about novels based on the Fleet Street experience and what they depict of the reality of journalists and their work in London. Thus, while some deem Philip Gibbs' *Street of Adventure* (1909) as probably having persuaded more young men to take up journalism as a career than any other book of the same genre, Allan rates Alphonse Courlander's *Mightier than the Sword* (1912) as far better than Gibbs' work because it views a journalist's life and career in terms of tragedy rather than romance. Courlander knew his subject well, as a result of his long work on the *Daily Express* under the legendary editor, R. D. Blumenfeld, and as the paper's ace Paris correspondent. But despite Courlander's view of Fleet Street, Allan is convinced that newspaper life does not seem to lend itself to fiction, and when journalists do appear in novels "they are usually cliché characters, unhappily married and potential alcoholics . . . ."

Allan concludes his discursive memoir with some pessimistic observations on present day journalism, such as the "death" of the newspaper essayist, "killed by the hysterical desire of modern journalists to be topical on all subjects and at any cost." Yet, with (and despite) all of its innovations, Allan is convinced that *The Times* is [still] "the paper that . . . does . . . things best."

>J. O. Baylen (Emeritus), Eastbourne, England

French Newspapers' Opinion on the American Civil War

By George M. Blackburn, Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997, 176 pp.

In this book, George M. Blackburn confirms an assertion that historians of Europe in the 1860s have made convincingly for decades: the French, like other Europeans, were fascinated by the causes and contours of the American Civil War, and followed with great interest the events of the conflict. In France, a considerable amount of journalists' ink was spilled in covering the War Between the States, a fact that reveals much about French ideology and statesmen in the age of the Second Empire (1852-71), when executive authority outweighed democratic voice. "[P]olitically aware Frenchmen perceived the American Civil War as an acid test of the legitimacy and viability of democratic institutions not only in America, but also in France."

Blackburn approaches French attitudes through an examination of war coverage in 75 newspapers, Parisian and provincial. In their treatments, the issue of slavery was not the decisive factor: all French newspapers seemed clearly to denounce the practice. The most important division between newspapers, the author asserts, was ideological: conservative editors and writers (Legitimists, pro-Bourbon Catholics, and supporters of Napoleon III) decried the War as bald northern aggression and an assault on constitutional right and social order; liberal editors and writers (Orleanists, liberal Catholics, and republicans) viewed the conflict as a just war for democracy, individual freedom and economic liberalism.

This depiction of 1860s French political thinking is not new; several antecedent studies have long identified these patterns. The novel assertion in Blackburn's work is that contemporary newspapers serve as a reliable index to those views. Previously dismissed by scholars as "unfree," venal, and inordinately coloured by domestic political ramifications, French newspapers contained instead genuine reflections of their editors' and writers' views, and the consistency of their treatments of the War attest to this fact. Blackburn traces conservative and liberal editorial coverage of the War chronologically in eight chapters from the 1860 American election, through the Trent Affair (1861), the Cotton Crisis (1862-3), French overtures in mediation (1862-3), and the consequences of the war's conclusion.

The book's argument is generally credible: French newspapers did reflect the discourse in French politics generated by the American Civil War. Even so, this book contains several faults that, put together, reduce the overall impact that this book will have in the study of foreign views of

the Civil War and in journalism history. Blackburn's book fails to establish the significance of French newspaper opinion on the Civil War, either as it related to the United States, or as it related to France. Ultimately, one wonders: did French views matter much to American combatants? (and relatedly, if not, why has this volume been placed in a series entitled "Contributions in American History"?) Perhaps more pointedly, did the War effect any long-term change in French political culture? Extending the analysis to the mid-1870s, or beyond, might have afforded the author the opportunity to make a broader and more meaningful assessment. As a result, the book's conclusion seems obtuse.

In terms of method, Blackburn's examination does not seem to differentiate between types of newspaper coverage. Did differences in format—editorial versus routine news coverage—matter qualitatively? Finally, most lacking in this analysis is a sense of the personalities involved in newsmaking, normally one of the most colorful and influential aspects of journalism history. Notably absent in Blackburn's treatment of French journalism is a sense of the characters of editors and writers. If the press, as the author argues, was demonstrably free, who exercised this liberty and in what ways were their personal judgments and characters reflected in their journalism? Blackburn's book makes a contribution to the history of mid-19th century journalism, but one ultimately that falls short of its potential to illuminate fully the role of French newspapers as a medium connecting the Civil War's "discussion" about republican liberty and French political culture.

>Andrew C. Holman, Bridgewater State College

Rampant Women Suffragists and the Right of Assembly

By Linda Lumsden, Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997, 273 pp.

In her introduction, Linda Lumsden states that the right of assembly provided the foundation of every step of the suffrage campaign. This crucial link between the right to peaceably assemble and women's struggle for the right to vote is explored by the author in this well-written and engrossing book.

The book details the painstaking struggle of women to overcome numerous obstacles to win the right to vote. Not only were there legal hurdles to overcome, but perhaps even more in evidence were deeply ingrained social barriers. Women's attempts to assemble in public and to attain the right to vote and the full citizenship those rights implied were seen as threats to the social order and to the way women were viewed by

society. The right to assemble was one the Founding Fathers intended for men, not necessarily women, and women exercising this right met with criticisms and sanctions. Lumsden provides a review of women's early attempts to exercise the right to gather and speak publicly in a male-dominated society. She describes Anne Hutchison's attempt to gather women in her home to study religion in 1630, which led to Hutchison's banishment by the authorities, and she credits the abolition movement's key role in winning women their right to speak in public, noting the contributions of particular southern women abolitionists and the criticism of their efforts.

The book's organization follows the progression of women's use of the right of assembly. The author devotes a chapter each to the right of association and women's use of it in suffrage mass meetings, delegations, and conventions; their use of open air meetings; their use of petitions; their use of parades to build support for the movement; their staging of pageants to gain middle and upper-class support, and their use of pickets to further their cause. She notes the importance of the suffrage conventions as the movement's heart and as gatherings where women gained the skills and confidence they needed to take their message to a wider audience. She describes the spread of the open air meetings, first held in New York and then around the country, and the problems suffragists had in getting legal permits to speak on street corners. She explores in detail how the issues of race and class affected the suffrage movement, paying close attention to the racism that African American women were subject to not only from police and the public, but from white suffragists as well.

Of particular interest to journalism historians are Lumsden's detailed discussions of the reactions of the newspapers of the period to the suffragists' efforts to bring their message to the public. Newspapers often ridiculed their early efforts and their public gatherings, as evidenced by the editorial the *New York Herald* carried in 1853, from which Lumsden quotes: "The assemblage of rampant women which convened at the Tabernacle yesterday was an interesting phase in the comic history of the 19th century." However, by the turn of the century, newspapers began to change the tone of their coverage, and Lumsden describes how the newspapers, as the most influential mass medium at the time, provided the movement a national forum by covering the suffrage parades as serious news stories with front page coverage.

Modern readers, in this age of instant visual communication, may find it difficult to comprehend fully the absolutely vital role the right to assemble played in the advancement of the suffrage movement. The

women Lumsden describes literally took their arguments to the people by the only means open to them—their hard-fought right to assemble, and to petition, parade, speak, and picket in public to often uninformed, indifferent, and hostile audiences in cities across the nation. Lumsden brings these women's words and arguments to life in this account.

This book is a must-read for many reasons. It is written in a compelling fashion and is based on extensive research using numerous primary sources, archival materials, legal cases, and secondary sources. The bibliography alone is worth a look, as are the extensive notes provided for each chapter and the appendices regarding major figures, events, and chronology of the suffrage movement.

Rampant Women has wide appeal. It should appeal to anyone interested in understanding the integral role the right of assembly plays in the struggle of any disenfranchised group in American society.

>Tamara Baldwin, Southeast Missouri State University

Robert Worth Bingham and the Southern Mystique: From the Old South to the New South and Beyond

By William E. Ellis, Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1997, 258 pp.

William E. Ellis of Eastern Kentucky University has set out to accomplish two difficult tasks. The first is to dispel, once and for all, the rumor that dogged Robert Worth Bingham (1871-1937) to his grave and well beyond that he killed his second wife for her money so that he could buy *The Courier-Journal* and *Times* of Louisville, Kentucky. Ellis' second task is to show that the life of this lawyer and local officeholder who bought the two newspapers and eventually served as ambassador to England is the stuff of compelling biography. Because of his thoroughness and attention to detail, Ellis accomplishes his first task: He convincingly lays the scandal to rest. But despite his exhaustive research, the second task proves insurmountable. The subject of this careful report never emerges as a vital force that can propel a narrative from beginning to end.

It's not that Bingham lacked for passion. He was a progressive with resolve living in unjust times, a man with motive and opportunity who was determined to do good. As interim mayor of Louisville for several months in 1907, Bingham stopped local saloons from flouting the Sunday Closing Law, removed policemen and firemen from a system of political patronage, encouraged police vice raids of downtown prostitution and gambling operations, and exposed the filthy facilities of City Hospital. As

a circuit court judge appointed to serve a vacated post, Bingham reduced a backlog of cases to a manageable level. As publisher of *The Courier-Journal* and *Times,* Bingham supported prohibition, women's suffrage, and the League of Nations, and he helped tobacco farmers organize cooperatives to get fair prices for their produce. And as FDR's ambassador to the Court of St. James, he increasingly denounced Nazi Germany as "people who regard war as a cult and blood and honour as something to teach little children, and who only listen to the argument of force."

Most of this history is lost on people today. Thanks to a spate of tawdry exposés from *The Binghams of Louisville* in 1987 to *The Patriarch* in 1991, Robert Worth Bingham is remembered as a media mogul who poisoned his wife for an inheritance. The truth, as Ellis carefully points out, lacks the intrigue but none of the tragedy. In 1913 Bingham's wife Eleanor died when a commuter train slammed into her car. Three years later, he married the widow of multimillionaire Henry M. Flagler, Mary Lily Kenan Flagler. There was no prenuptial agreement, nor was there provision for Bingham in her will, but a codicil signed just six weeks before Mary Lily died unexpectedly (after only seven months of marriage to Bingham) left him $5 million. Rumors swirled, claiming that Flagler or Bingham had given syphilis to Mary Lily and that Bingham had drugged her and pushed her down a flight of stairs. These rumors were unfounded. What few people knew was that when Mary Lily died, Bingham was searching for a treatment for her alcoholism. The family secret was that Mary Lily was a binge drinker who, according to Dr. Hugh Young of Johns Hopkins University Hospital, would "lock herself up and drink many bottles of gin." Young confirmed that alcohol abuse, and not "poisoning or foul play," had killed Mary Lily.

Bingham received his inheritance one year after Mary Lily died, and within days he had purchased 71 percent of the shares of *The Courier-Journal* and *Times.* He purchased the remaining 29 percent two years later. The total cost was $1.5 million. Bingham ran the papers until 1933, when he left Louisville to serve as ambassador to St. James' Court. His two oldest children were alcoholics and unreliable, so leadership of the papers went to his youngest child Barry, who became publisher at the age of 27.

Throughout this book, Ellis points out that Bingham's progressiveness did not extend to the issue of race, hence the title *Robert Worth Bingham and the Southern Mystique.* Bingham supported African American educational institutions and he opposed the Ku Klux Klan, but his *Courier-Journal* continued to publish the racist comic "Hambone" throughout the 1920s. Bingham did little, Ellis says, "to overturn the

racial mores of the community." It's a stretch to call this support of the racial status quo "the southern mystique" — what was the support of the racial status quo called in New York, Boston, or Chicago? — but that's the only lapse in this otherwise authoritative book that sets the record straight on Robert Worth Bingham.

> John P. Ferré, University of Louisville

The World According To Hollywood 1918-1939.

By Ruth Vasey, Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1997, 299 pp.

From the flickering beginnings of the Nickelodeon to today's hi-tech film industry, attempts to regulate movie content have been as much a part of film history as the rise of the Hollywood studios, the coming of sound, or wide screen projection. The control of movie content by state and local censorship boards, and after 1920, the Hays Office, and later still, the Production Code Administration (PCA), was a well known fact to generations of moviegoers. Indeed, the press reported that American audiences often booed the PCA seal when it appeared on their local screens.

Even so, establishing the who, what, when, where, and why of film censorship is something of a Johnny-come-lately to the field of film history. Scholarly attention to the actual operations of film censorship began in earnest only after the records of the Production Code Administration were opened to scholars in 1983. Ruth Vasey's *The World According to Hollywood,* 1918-1939 is the latest contribution to a growing library devoted to the history of film censorship.

A Professor of Film Studies at the University of New South Wales, Australia, Vasey correctly notes that recent books on censorship largely ignore the impact Hollywood's financial reliance on foreign markets had on shaping American film content. Indeed, Hollywood's financial health depended on a global economy long before the phrase gained its present currency. As Vasey notes, following the end of World War I, 35 percent of the studios' gross revenue was generated from rentals outside the United States. With millions of foreign dollars at stake, Hollywood was as concerned to pacify foreign censors as it was to placate its domestic critics. In turn, Hollywood films depicted a world devoid of political strife, tyranny or terror. In short, the world according to Hollywood was an idealized, romanticized, exotic version of Andy Hardy's Main Street, USA

If Hollywood's product proved simpleminded, the process involved in making pictures for world wide distribution while avoiding political controversy and cultural offense became increasingly complex, particularly with the introduction of the sound film. Throughout the silent film era, dealing with the knotty intricacies of foreign political and cultural sensibilities was fairly easy. As Vasey explains, offending material could be cut without destroying the narrative structure of the film. For example, the Japanese routinely cut out scenes that showed kissing, while the British cut scenes featuring religious ceremonies. In fact, foreign distributors often inserted new title cards that completely changed the original intent of the story.

The coming of sound in 1927 presented a new challenge. Cutting scenes from a synchronized sound film destroyed its narrative coherency. Thus, Vasey argues, after the advent of talking pictures, Hollywood has forced to create a single international standard for film content that eliminated as much as possible the need for censorship. This need was, Vasey contends, a chief motivating factor behind the 1930 adoption of the Production Code. Clearly, American film censorship was the product of a number of interactive forces. Amidst economic depression, threats of government oversight of Hollywood's monopolistic business practices, the specter of Legion of Decency instigated boycotts, and a fear of losing foreign revenues all played their part. Vasey's book gives a good overview of the particular impact of foreign markets on American film censorship, even if one wishes for more detailed analysis of how the various foreign censors worked in specific situations. What did different foreign governments specially object to? What internal political, religious, and cultural pressure groups were foreign censors themselves subject to?

If Vasey's study raises more questions than it answers, it does make plain that studio self-censorship was as determined to avoid political controversy as it was to eliminate immorality. As Vasey notes, the pressure to circumscribe the terms of Hollywood's political discourse, arising from worldwide institutions of censorship helped to reinforce the perceived status of Hollywood movies as objects of entertainment devoid of political significance. Vasey makes one assertion about the final effect of censorship that civil libertarians might find dubious. She contends that censorship threw the responsibility for interpretation squarely onto the audience providing a wider range of imaginative options. As the argument goes, censorship thus produced gaps in the text that offered more open rather than closed interpretations.

No doubt film audiences became adept at reading between-the-lines, but, I fear, in a rush to valorize so-called active audiences, over against passive receivers of media messages, many film historians inadvertently turn a historical necessity into a theoretical virtue. In any event, Vasey's work opens up an area of research that is important to an understanding of the political and social impact, at home and abroad, of Hollywood's depiction of a world that never was.

>G. Tom Poe, University of Missouri, Kansas City

Tombstone's Epitaph

By Douglas D. Martin, Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997, 287 pp.

Listen closely as you turn the pages of Douglas D. Martin's *Tombstone's Epitaph*. You will swear that you can hear Wyatt Earp's spurs jingle with each of his steps, the gunshots at the OK Corral, and horses' hooves pounding Tombstone's dirt streets. Reading this book is like stepping into a time tunnel and taking a quantum leap into the Wild West of the late 19th century. If journalism is the first draft of history, as many claim it is, then *Tombstone's Epitaph* is a compilation of a truly rich source of Old West lore. By compiling and categorizing numerous articles from this frontier newspaper, and then weaving them with his own narrative, Martin provides a series of verbal snapshots, transporting the reader deep into Tombstone of the 1880s. In effect, the book is the product of an ethnographic study, using written documents in this case, articles from the *Tombstone's Epitaph* as a window into this world.

Founded in 1880, the *Epitaph* is Arizona's oldest continuously published newspaper. Martin meticulously combed the pages of editions from the early 1880s, piecing together a portrait of life in legendary Tombstone. As revealed in the pages of the Epitaph, it is a world rich in both the expected and unexpected. While the focus of late 19th century Tombstone as well as *Tombstone's Epitaph* is the stereotypical image of shoot-outs and the infamous OK Corral, there was much more to Tombstone. In addition to news of holdups and murders, one can also find other "flavors" of Tombstone society in these pages, including news of ice cream socials, restaurant menus, church bazaars, the annual New Year's Eve dance hosted by the town firefighters, concerts and other entertainment.

The frontier style of journalism exemplified by the *Epitaph* not only included detailed accounts of happenings, but also a sort of community

cheerleading, sometimes carried to the point of less-than-objective accounts of developments. Founder and editor Jack Clum established an editorial policy that each of his successors adhered to: rallying the spirits of the people and renewing their faith in the greatness of their hometown. It was common to editorialize within articles, and also to attack competing newspapers. The editor of the competing *Tombstone Nugget* once wrote, "The utterances of the old Drunkard who runs the *Epitaph* at present do not bother us in the least." As Martin writes, the fear of libel never held a Tombstone editor back.

Clum used his lofty position at the *Epitaph* to become Tombstone's first mayor. In turn, he used the newspaper as a vehicle for community boosterism. At times that meant downplaying the coverage of image-damaging events such as natural disasters. Martin suggests it was probable that Clum and his successors did not want to discourage the investment of new capital and an increase in population. The editor/mayor would also use his position to chastise those who failed to invite him to important social events. In the midst of reporting on one Thanksgiving Day dinner, for example, Clum wrote that "Lack of space and an opportunity of personal observance forbid a more detailed account of the evening's enjoyment."

Another aspect of Tombstone life that is typically not associated with this town of the Old West is sports. Coverage of sports stories, especially Tombstone's favorites sport, baseball, was commonplace. The Tombstone nine would travel the Arizona territory, with game results sometimes taking days to reach the paper's offices. Once after some tough losses at the territorial fair in "Phenix" (sic), the editor was so carried away in his lament that he neglected to mention the scores in the *Epitaph*'s Sunday edition. And with no Monday edition, the paper could not remedy the oversight until Tuesday. Sports coverage also extended to events such as cockfighting and boxing, with the *Epitaph* often encouraging the latter, providing space for the issuance and acceptance of challenges.

But based on the selections that Martin includes in his book, the primary "sport" in Tombstone seems to have been gun fighting. Perhaps no town was ever more appropriately named. As Martin writes, "Surely no other paper in the history of American journalism ever carried more reports of crime than the *Epitaph* published in its first 10 years." While the laws were enforced a bit more loosely than today, Tombstone and the southeastern part of the Arizona territory did not exhibit the lawlessness that many assume. In fact, the infamous gunfight at the OK Corral which plays a prominent role in *Tombstone's Epitaph* was the culmination of an

effort to combat the "cow-boy situation." Tombstone's two newspapers disagreed over how to best handle the situation. The *Republican Epitaph* called these men a curse to the country and to business while the *Nugget* belittled efforts to control them.

After the OK Corral shoot-out occurred on October 26, 1881, there was a sharp division not just among the townsfolk, but also between the newspapers over whether the three Earp brothers and Doc Holliday were justified in killing three people. The *Nugget* led the criticism of Marshall Earp, while the *Epitaph* ultimately defended the need to uphold the law. As the debate raged, so did federal attempts to investigate and possibly intercede in Arizona. When President Chester Arthur later issued a proclamation admonishing those in the Territory of Arizona from taking part in any unlawful proceeding the *Epitaph,* by then under a new Democratic publisher, replied with an editorial stating that Arizona was one of the most peaceful parts of the country and all it wanted was to be left alone.

But the damage to Wyatt Earp had already been done. The "Lion of Tombstone" left the town in March 1882. The *Epitaph* had clearly been supportive of Earp, calling his appointment as deputy sheriff in 1880 an "eminently proper one," and a week later noting that he is "ever to the front when duty calls." After Earp was appointed US Marshal, the *Epitaph* reported that "the town has been noted for its quietness and good order." Remember, this was a newspaper whose philosophy was to develop good will, particularly among the business community. Investors would be reluctant to sink capital into ventures in a town that could not protect their investment. No wonder the paper supported Earp, his brothers, and Doc Holliday. But that could not stop the investigation of the OK Corral incident. The *Epitaph* carried the testimony in full. While the Earps and Holliday were exonerated, they were marked men. When Morgan Earp was killed, the *Epitaph* headlined the story "The Deadly Bullet: The Assassin at Last Successful in His Devilish Mission" in its March 20, 1882 edition. It was shortly thereafter that Wyatt left town. The last mention of his whereabouts was in the April 14, 1882 edition of the *Epitaph.*

Given the nature of Tombstone life, hangings were not uncommon, nor were the Epitaph's accounts of them. The same kind of detailed reporting that was the rule of the day with other kinds of stories also prevailed here. The pages of the newspaper would contain items such as what the condemned ate for dinner the night prior to their executions, what they wore, and the attendance at the hanging: "The prisoners last night regaled themselves with a hearty supper of oysters and other delicacies furnished by the sheriff. As they were being attired in grave clothes an

occasional grim joke at the appearance of some of their comrades was indulged in by the bandits. Over 500 tickets of admission to the jail yard to witness the execution were issued." Nor was the detailed reporting confined to pre-execution festivities. It included highly descriptive accounts of the hanging itself, including how long each body pulsated from the moment the trap door fell with a "swish."

The *Epitaph* was not immune from many of the realities of contemporary journalism, including the economic imperative of advertising. In fact, there were long stretches when the front page carried nothing but advertising. The primary advertisers were saloons, restaurants, and not surprisingly undertakers. There was also what, from a late 20th century perspective, seems to be a sort of naiveté or innocence in the *Epitaph*'s writing. But not unlike contemporary journalism, it also reflected a "what are people talking about" approach to coverage. Articles included the following: "It won't do any harm to go to church today. Try the experience." After the death of a citizen: "The body was not well embalmed and the stench was beginning to get so great it was feared the express company would not ship it." "A hair-pulling match occurred on Fifth street yesterday between two parties of the weaker sex. During the melee various and numerous articles of feminine wearing apparel were flying wildly through the air and total annihilation of everything present seemed imminent." "Beautiful day yesterday." "Another crank has been toying with a Gila monster, with the result that he is likely to die."

According to one story, the *Epitaph* acquired its name based on the theory newspapers, like epitaphs, were generally a collection of lies. One hopes that philosophy extends only to that story and not to the publication itself. Otherwise the newspaper and consequently Martin's book is largely a compilation of untruths. While that seems unlikely, it does point to the potential pitfalls in writing a book that relies on a solitary source like the *Epitaph*. Not only is it dependent on the accuracy of the documents, but what is not in the record can be as important as what is. Other minor defects include that the author does not provide the reader with information regarding his method of deciding what he included, nor is it made clear that this 1997 edition is largely a reprint of a work originally published in 1951. Nonetheless, *Tombstone's Epitaph* is a fascinating work, symbolic of the notion that the products of journalism although themselves possibly flawed provide a one-of-a-kind, "You are there" glimpse into historical periods like few other sources can.

>Joseph A. Russomanno, Arizona State University

American Journalism

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Carl Patrick Burrowes

The author subjects the writings of former Liberia Herald *editor Hilary Teage to a "discourse analysis." This analysis seeks to understand the thought process behind Teage's writings.*

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Using cultural feminism as its theoretical framework, this study attempts to show how the mission of The Advocate, *to reform and retrain prostitutes into composers and typesetters for* The Advocate, *significantly contributed to feminist ideology in the 19th century.*

Redefining Racism: Newspaper Justification for the 1924 Exclusion of Japanese Immigrants 53
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Editor's Note

Media's rich, diverse past is the subject of this month's journal, covering a period of more than 100 years. In all cases, the authors of the articles in this issue focus on media history that is outside the mainstream, hoping to add new faces and perspectives to the stories that scholars can tell.

"In Common with Colored Men, I Have Certain Sentiments" by Carl Patrick Burrowes is the story of Hilary Teague, editor of the *Liberia Herald* from 1835 to 1850. Born in the US, Teague emigrated to Africa as a teenager. He became a landowner, a merchant, and an influential voice in Liberia's move from a colony to a republic. Burrowes documents Teague's accomplishments in an attempt to "rescue Teague from undeserved obscurity."

As a voice for reform for 19th century women, *The Advocate* "was the foremost messenger for moral reform," according to Therese L. Lueck. In "Women's Moral Reform Periodicals of the 19th Century: A Cultural Feminist Analysis of *The Advocate*," Lueck says that the role of female reform societies has been minimized by some feminist scholars, as tangential to women's history. This is a mistake, says Lueck, citing scholar Susan Henry's important observation that the journalism produced by these women "developed shared, female-identified values, rituals, relationships and modes of communication that were sources of satisfaction and strength."

While the women at *The Advocate* were working for *in*clusion in American society, 1920s US newspapers found themselves in the position of trying to justify the *ex*clusion of Japanese immigrants. In "Redefining Racism: Newspaper Justification for the 1924 Exclusion of Japanese Immigrants," Bradley J. Hamm focuses on the way several newspapers treated the Immigration Act of 1924 as a way to analyze attitudes toward the Japanese in this country before World War II. Besides the traditional arguments for exclusion, says Hamm, one newspaper even found itself in the unusual position of editorializing that the Japanese should be prevented from joining the nation's workforce because they were equal, even superior to US workers.

Nearly 40 years later, the media's actions actually helped stop an Atomic Energy Commission proposal to detonate five nuclear bombs to excavate a harbor in Northwest Alaska. John Merton Mars, in "Project Chariot, Nuclear Zeal, Easy Journalism and the Fate of Eskimos," says

that media coverage of the issue, although both late and lazy, brought enough visibility that eventually the government scrapped the plan. "The press," says Mars, "seems to be willing to treat oppositional news fairly, so long as the opposition brings the news to the press."

In Great Ideas, Michael R. Smith talks about the difficulty of defining just which newspaper is the nation's oldest. And David Spencer's book review selections maintain the theme of presenting diverse ideas with reviews of a wide range of topics, including comic strips, photojournalism, Sarajevo, and online journalism.

The subject of this issue—diversity—was very important to one of AJHA's most ardent supporters, Donna Allen. Donna died this summer. As founder of *Media Report to Women*, she was a pioneer. I remember the first AJHA Women's Roundtable luncheon I attended. We all sat around one small, circular table and Donna Allen was the honoree. After shyly acknowledging the honor, she spent the rest of the time speaking on behalf of the importance of media history for and about women. AJHA will miss her exuberance, her energy and her commitment to media history, to diversity and to women.

The focus of the next issue of ***American Journalism*** will be conservative media, with Rodger Streitmatter serving as Guest Editor. Also, as the journal begins to turn the corner on the next century, David Mindich has agreed to serve as Guest Editor for the journal's special issue scheduled for fall 2000. "The Buzz: Technology in Journalism and Mass Communication History" is the title David has given this special issue. Don't miss the Call for Manuscripts (with a February 1, 2000 deadline) on page 11.

Shirley Biagi

Call for Manuscripts
The Buzz: Technology in Journalism and Mass Communication History

American Journalism, the quarterly journal of the American Journalism Historians Association, announces a call for manuscripts for a special theme issue focusing on technology and history.

The issue, edited by David T. Z. Mindich, called The Buzz: Technology in Journalism and Mass Communication History, is scheduled for Fall 2000. The deadline for submissions is February 1, 2000.

The theme of technology is inclusive. Topics could include but are not limited to:

- how printing, the telegraph, or other devices changed or challenged journalism;
- implicit comparisons between older technologies and newer ones, including ways in which the public viewed future technology; and
- the role of technology in formulating or reformulating minority communities.

The term "technology" itself could be approached in a number of ways, including electronic, electric, and pre-electric (including printing) communication aids. Manuscripts that include graphics and/or photographs are encouraged.

Manuscripts should follow the *American Journalism* guidelines for submissions, and be sent to:

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For more information, please contact David Mindich at dmindich@smcvt.edu or phone (802) 654-2637.

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"In Common with Colored Men, I Have Certain Sentiments": Black Nationalism and Hilary Teage of the *Liberia Herald*

By Carl Patrick Burrowes

As editor of the Liberia Herald *from 1835 to 1850, Hilary Teage exerted a profound influence on events in Liberia and his reputation reverberated among blacks across the Atlantic. In addition to writing Liberia's declaration of independence, he published over 100 articles, editorials, poems, sermons and speeches. Three persistent and pervasive themes in Teage's writings were: aesthetic romanticism; black nationalism, an ideology that emerged during the era of the early American republic; and liberal republicanism, with its emphasis on empirical analysis and limited government.*

Born in 1805 at the lowest rung of Virginia slave society, Hilary Teage emigrated at age 17 to West Africa where he went on—in the words of one of his contemporaries—to make the single greatest personal contribution to the "framing and establishment" of the Republic of Liberia.[1] Founded in 1820, Liberia was operated by the American Colonization Society (ACS), an organization of powerful and influential whites,[2] as a colony for American free blacks until 1847, when the repatriates declared their independence.

While Liberia was a colony, it encompassed nine scattered coastal towns with a population of 2,390. Only 27 percent of the people were locally born, including some indigenous persons who had adopted

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Liberian ways. By 1868, the country had expanded to encompass a two-mile strip along the coast, and the population had increased to 15,000, consisting of 12,000 emigrants and 3,000 indigenous Africans.[3] Through the end of the 19th century, the country attracted some 19,000 blacks from various parts of Africa and its Diaspora. Over this commonwealth, Teage cast a long shadow, as Baptist minister, merchant, elected official, president of the Liberia Lyceum, and especially as editor of the *Herald* (1835-1850), which he used to spearhead the drive for Liberia's independence.

In serving as editor of the *Liberia Herald* for 15 years, Teage left a detailed, colorful and rare record of journalistic conditions in 19th century Africa. In addition, he had what probably was the longest journalism career of any black in the antebellum era. In contrast, John B. Russwurm, who proceeded Teage as editor of the *Herald* and is better known for having co-founded the first African American newspaper (*Freedom's Journal*) had a journalistic career of seven years. Even Samuel Cornish, who edited four newspapers—a record for any African American during that period—only served a combined five years and two months in journalism.[4]

Extended the Enlightenment to Africa

More important than longevity of service, Teage made a distinctive intellectual contribution by applying Enlightenment ideas to the black race and extending them to the continent of Africa, both of which had been viewed as beyond the scope of the humanities. Also evident in his writings are all the defining elements of an ideology known as black nationalism.

As the author of Liberia's declaration of independence, Teage was called "the Jefferson of Liberia,"[5] a comparison that was intended to be flattering but nonetheless was diminutive because it consigned him to the shadows of a republican slaveholder, without recognition for his own distinctive contribution to the struggle for human liberty. Despite Teage's myriad accomplishments, his ideas, his contributions and his reputation have faded over the years, like the newsprint through which they were realized.

The Search for a Recurring Pattern

This study seeks to rescue Teage from undeserved obscurity by providing a sketch of his life, along with an analysis of a major theme in

his writings. Data was assembled by examining every surviving issue of five periodicals that reported intensively on 19th century Liberia,[6] along with a similarly exhaustive examination of letters from African American repatriates to their relatives, friends and former masters in the United States in two published collections.[7] In addition to many items by a variety of authors on the life of Teage, this search process uncovered 112 substantive documents written by the subject, including 71 news articles and editorials, six poems, two sermons, two major speeches, a treatise on self-government by blacks, and—his magnum opus—Liberia's declaration of independence.

Among his works that apparently did not survive were a journal in which he kept records of his travels,[8] a contemplated history of Liberia[9] and copies of sermons.[10] Some 20 research collections with holdings on African colonization, Liberia and Baptist history were searched, of which eight yielded significant primary materials.[11] Sources were selected on the basis of availability, relevance and reliability. To guard against unconscious or deliberate biases, each document or set of documents was checked against others drawn from different individual, political and institutional sources.

But this study goes beyond a recounting of events to concern itself with "the thought within them" which, as journalism historian James Carey has suggested, should be the goal of cultural historians.[12] To achieve this objective, Teage's writings were subjected to "discourse analysis," meaning the search "to uncover the codes, constructions, cultural assumptions, connotations, values, and beliefs embedded in the text by locating correspondences between a text and social structures and identities, noting recurring patterns, such as the repetition of certain themes, phrases, rhetoric, and so on in the discourse."[13]

Black Nationalism a Consistent Theme

One persistent and pervasive theme uncovered in Teage's writings was black nationalism. This ideology emerged during the era of the early American republic, when the contradiction between the revolutionary sentiments of America's founders and their willingness to compromise with slavery[14] engendered a black reaction against white rejection, a sense of racial identity and a belief that people of African descent share a historical mission.[15] In the early 19th century, the phrase "black nationalism" was not used to describe what was then an emerging phenomenon; nonetheless a sense of racial identification among blacks was common. When the American Colonization Society's president wrote Teage in 1841

to complain about an "offensive" article in the *Herald*, for example, the editor responded:

> In common with colored men, I have certain sentiments . . . I should be altogether unworthy of your confidence and respect, if I should at any time forget for a moment that this is my indefeasible right, or so base and mean-spirited as not to claim to exercise it whenever circumstances should demand it.[16]

Undergirding this response was the essence of black nationalism, evident in his reference to "certain sentiments" that he shared with other people of color.

Given the anomalous situation of African Americans, consisting of geographic dispersal across the country, coupled with legal segregation from others on the basis of race, their "nationalism" has always been racially defined, "premised on the assumption that membership in a race could function as the basis of a national identity." Because of its racial composition, black nationalism easily elides into the kindred ideology of pan-Africanism which, in its broadest interpretation, refers to a "general sense of sympathy and mutual supportiveness among Africans and peoples of African descent."

Like other nationalisms, however, black nationalism is anchored in the belief among a group of people that they are "bound together by ties of kinship, history and heritage," which distinguishes them from others by their commonly held beliefs, behaviors and ways of thinking.[17] As a belief system that was consciously elaborated during a time of social strain and, over time, achieved integration, black nationalism has all the characteristics of an "ideology," as defined by anthropologist Clifford Geerzt, who contributed considerably to focusing scholarly attention on the concept during the past several decades.[18]

Rising in the State of Being

Teage was born in 1805 to slave parents on a plantation in Goochland County, Virginia, halfway between Richmond and Charlottesville, not far from the home of Thomas Jefferson. Two years later, his artisan father, Colin, was sold to the owners of a saddle and harness factory in Richmond, a move that significantly widened the family's vistas. By 1819, Colin had paid $1,300 to purchase his family of three[19] and, one year later, held property in Henrico County, outside the city limits.[20]

In Richmond, the Teage family attended the racially mixed but segregated First Baptist Church, where in 1815 a tri-weekly night school

was organized for about 17 leading black members, including Colin.[21] Several white Baptist tradesmen and merchants, who had supported Colin in his quest for manumission and literacy skills, also assisted in the creation of the Richmond African Baptist Missionary Society in 1815 and the ACS Richmond auxiliary in 1823.[22] This was the context in which Colin opted in 1821 to become a missionary to Africa, taking his wife, Frances; Hilary, then age 16, and a 15-year-old daughter, Colinette, all of whom were literate.[23]

Two years before leaving for Africa, Hilary and his sister were described as having "been to school considerably." Their education was organized in part by William Crane, a fellow Baptist and native of Newark, New Jersey, who had coordinated a night school for their father and other black adults.[24] At this time, schooling for blacks was frowned upon in Virginia, and there were no public schools, even for whites. The curriculum of private schools in Richmond then included Latin, Greek, mathematics, history, geography and natural philosophy.[25] Hilary later showed some familiarity with all of these subjects.

Teage brought considerable intellectual powers and energy to his various pursuits, including a trading business, which he inherited after his father's death in 1838 and quickly expanded. By 1845 he owned five buildings in Monrovia, was earning an annual commission of $7,000, and had five warehouses along the coast worth $30,000, with about $20,000 in trade stock. Between 1827 and 1853, he owned at least eight vessels that were engaged in the West African coasting trade.[26]

However, his commercial fortunes declined in the late 1840s, as he poured his energies into the campaign for independence.[27] Teage was elected colonial secretary in 1835, a member of the colonial council and commissioner for Montserrado County five years later, member of the Constitutional Convention in 1847, and senator for Montserrado County one year later. In addition, he served as attorney general (1850-51) and secretary of state (1852-1853), with a stint in May 1852 as acting chief executive, while President Joseph Jenkins Roberts was abroad.[28]

Pride of Place Among Liberian Intellectuals

During the crucial period of 1830 to 1847, when Liberia moved from being a colony to a republic, Teage occupied—by virtue of his age, activities and early arrival in the colony—pride of place among local intellectuals. His contemporaries in 1845 elected him the first president of the Liberia Lyceum, which until about 1850 sponsored public speeches and debates as a means of energizing and educating the larger community.[29] He was said to have been "remarkable for his abilities, his acquisitions and his influence,"[30] "one of the ablest and best read men in

Liberia,"[31] and one of Liberia's "brightest and most cultivated intellects."[32] West African writer Edward Wilmot Blyden (who would come to be better known through the hundreds of essays and countless letters he wrote to a large and influential circle of correspondents in Africa, England and the United States) described Teage as having "genius."[33]

As pastor of the Providence Baptist Church in Monrovia, Teage filled his days with such routine ministerial cares as preaching, ordaining and meeting with his flock and other clergymen. From his warehouse on the river front, he had a direct view of the St. Paul River, which was also the site on many Sundays of the deep immersion baptisms preferred by emigrants from the South. In 1848 alone, he baptized 61 people—more than any other minister in the country.[34] Teage was what sociologist Antonio Gramsci termed an "organic intellectual," being the thinking and organizing element of a particular social group. More than a mere eloquent mover of feelings on a momentary basis, he was a "permanent persuader."[35]

Although Teage was rigid in his commitment to the cause of republicanism and repatriation, he displayed none of the acerbity and self-righteousness that characerizes many ideologues. A traveling companion on a sea trip from the United States to Liberia noted, "He was never disposed to urge his opinions upon others, well knowing that the best and most thorough converts to the truth usually become such through the force of their own reflections and convictions."[36] He described Teage as "highly accomplished in his manners, very agreeable, various, and winning in his conversations; of a kind, obliging and generous disposition, and earnestly intent upon building up the cause of civilization and Christianity in Africa." About Teage's personality, he said, "Amid trying reverses in his pecuniary affairs his vivacity and cheerfulness continued without abatement."[37]

Teage As Romantic Empiricist

Teage's tenure as editor of the *Liberia Herald* began in 1835, following the resignation of John B. Russwurm, the paper's founding editor and one of the first blacks to graduate from an American college.[38] Four years later, Teage acquired ownership of the paper from the ACS, which led the editor of the rival *Luminary* to comment, "We speak advisedly when we say that the editor, who is also publisher and proprietor, is making new and judicious effort to improve it in every respect."[39] In an editorial, Teage described the newspaper office as quaint and somewhat rustic:

> a little sooty apartment of six by eight. Beneath (the editor's) dingy foolscap a portion of deal lies supinely on an empty

> barrel. A few odds and ends of books and newspapers lie in hopeless confusion around. At his side an inkstand, not of china, nor of bronze, but the small end of a cow's horn, on his left a quiver of quills rifled from the upper surface of a porcupine . . . . The walls are duly chalked, not with mechanical design, nor geometrical diagrams, but with mathematical momentos of the kroos[40] of potatoes of which he has relieved the farmer. This is his blotter; ledger, he keeps none.[41]

True to the temper of the times, Teage's writing showed the impact of two dominant intellectual orientations. On the one hand, his social perspective was anchored by 18th century liberal republicanism, with its emphasis on empirical analysis, free enterprise economics and limited government. On the other hand, his aesthetic was linked to romanticism, the leading Western literary trend from about 1789 to 1839.[42] His commitment to objectivity was rooted in an empiricist theory of knowledge—then emerging as the *sine qua non* of scientific thought. As Teage explained in an 1845 lecture to the Lyceum, "Knowledge is derived from without. After all that has been said about innate ideas and principles, it will, I think, be no easy matter for anyone to show, that we have one single idea that we did not originally receive by perception or sensation." Later he added: "The object of the modern philosophy is to collect facts, unlike the ancient which was to explain phenomena."[43]

In keeping with his scientific cast of mind, Teage's reports in the *Herald* were detailed and colorful. He distinguished between various types of local termites on the basis of physical characteristics and used a microscope to scrutinize such oddities as the "witch" recovered by a traditional African healer.[44] Among English-language writers, he admired the "vigor, precision or copiousness" of John Milton, Edmund Burke, Sir Isaac Newton, Sir James Hall, and "the almost immortals that signed the Declaration of American Independence."[45] Teage was modernist even in his choice of type for the newspaper, which consisted of pica and bourgeois faces,[46] in contrast to the Old English and various classical faces favored by other editors of the *Herald.*

Eclectic, Sardonic and Witty

Concerning aesthetics, he was eclectic, finding value and pleasure in sources as diverse as American oratory, African cuisine and 18th century British poetry. His own poetry, mostly on nature and patriotic themes, contained many allusions to Africa's past grandeur. One of the poets most often cited by Teage was England's Edward Young, whose work—like some of his own—was laced with tinges of melancholy and meditations

on mortality.[47] But Teage's most masterful pieces were his speeches, which combined systematic argumentation and flourishes of poetry delivered with the full powers of a Baptist pastor. These often were laced with poetic repetition, as in a section of a speech on the displacement of a martial ethos by a civil era:

> He who would embalm his name in the grateful remembrance of coming generations—he who would secure for himself a niche in the temple of undying fame—he who would hew out for himself a monument of which his country may boast—he who would entail upon heirs a name which they may be proud to wear, must seek some other field than that of battle as the theatre of his exploits.[48]

Taken as a whole Teage's works reveal a knowledgeable and witty writer who could be self-deprecating at times yet devastatingly sardonic, if crossed.[49]

In picturesque, self-mocking terms, Teage described an editor's duties in his poverty-stricken society:

> the boy comes for copy. He draws on a well backed trestle, for which he is indebted to the carelessness of the carpenter, and seats himself in front of the barrel. Seizing the fearful quill, he thus begins:
>
> > 'The press, the omnipotent press, is the most powerful engine which it has ever been the lot of mortals to possess. It is the scourge of tyrants, the pillar of religion and the Palladium of civil liberty. From it, as from an impregnable rampart, the fearless independent editor . . . .'
>
> But this self-congratulatory rumination by the editor is suddenly interrupted by the copy boy, whose concerns are more mondane:
>
> > *There is no cassado*[50] *for breakfast, sir.*
> > Well, go and get some, and don't bother me.
> > *I have no money, sir.*
> > Well go and collect some money.
> > *I have carried out the bills, sir.*
> > Have you collected any money?

No sir.
Why?
Mr. — says he has no money, and you need not be afraid of the small amount. Mr. — says he don't like the paper now; you are too polite ___. Mr. — says your paper is scurrilous. Mr. — says there is too much religion in it and too little politics. Mr. — says there is too much politics and too little religion, and Mr. — says you have insulted his father's tenth cousin. They say they will not make the paper any longer, and they will pay when they get the money.
That will do; go and call again in an hour for copy.

With this dismissal, the editor briefly resumes his rumination:

And though there is no class of men to whom the world is under more immense obligation, yet, there is none . . .
Jambo has come to get his pay for the palm oil, sir
Be gone, sir, don't you see I am engaged . . . there is none we respect that is doomed to a more hopeless . . .
The ram has gnawed the rollers, sir.
Well, cast another.
We have no molasses, sir.
Well, shut up the office, and go to dinner.[51]

In keeping with journalistic standards in an era when copyright conventions were not strictly observed, Teage published samples from his diverse readings. The November 7, 1845 issue of the *Herald*, for example, carried a letter from a correspondent in Haiti, along with articles culled from the Republican-leaning *New York Tribune*, published by Horace Greeley; the Federalist *Evening Post*, founded by Alexander Hamilton; the *New York Sun*, the first successful penny press and an ally of the Democratic Party; London's iconoclastic *Punch*; and England-based *Westminster Review*, an outlet for the writings of Jeremy Bentham and James Mill, two founders of British utilitarian economics.[52]

Adhered to Journalistic Standards

Stemming from his avid reading, Teage revealed a keen understanding of journalistic standards of his day. In an appeal to his patrons for support, he noted differences between the news environment of Africa and more industrialized countries, bemoaning the absence in Liberia of

"the privilege of arraigning and abusing public men and measures." This was lacking, he noted:

> not perhaps from a virtuous disposition in us, or that we write with a pen less wayward than others, that we do not make occasional drafts on this fruitful subject, but rather because our men and measures are known within a circle so circumscribed that any thing we could say with respect to them, would be uninteresting to our distinct readers.

Also absent from his environment were those "striking events" that journalists of the day considered newsworthy, events which:

> vary and enliven the dull and monotonous narration of ordinary life. No mobs affording columns of matter in accounts of heads broke, houses rifled, magistrates resisted, laws defied, or any other of those brilliant events which generally mark the reign of mobocracy.

"To this degree of refinement," he added with no small measure of sarcasm, "the citizens of Liberia have not as yet arrived; it is left, therefore, to some more fortunate Editor to describe them, when futurity shall bring them forth."[53] The type of society promoted by Teage was one rooted in reasoned consensus, which could be achieved only through "free and dispassionate discussion."[54] Enlightenment would result, he argued, from vigorous public debate, the kind sponsored by the Liberia Lyceum and conducted in the pages of the *Herald*:

> Let the whole popular mind, with its 'Press' and various civil institutions, concentrate on any one subject, and truth will rise prescient. For proof, notice the progress which the subject of slavery has made. As soon as public attention is fixed itself upon the evils and dangers it is likely to entail on the American people, a great and prevailing change was evident to all. This general and popular agitation may throw up much strife and delusion, but, nevertheless, error, whose certain fate is inevitable, will sink and give place to truth.[55]

The Grand Object of a Republic on Africa's Soil

As Liberians moved to declare their independence in 1847, Teage—the man who had done more than any to further the process—cited the

planting of "a nation of colored people on the soil of Africa, adorned and dignified with the attributes of a civilized and Christian community" as the "grand object which at first brought us to Africa."[56] Evident in this passage is a defining element of 19th century black nationalism as identified by historian Wilson J. Moses,[57] which was a desire for independence and "absolute control over a specific geographical territory, and sufficient economic and military power to defend it." As noted by Moses, other essential features of classical black nationalism include: 1) dissatisfaction with conditions in the United States; 2) "an invariable belief that the hand of God directed (the) movement" of blacks; 3) a quickness "to claim an ancestral connection with Egypt and Ethiopia," while showing "little enthusiasim for the cultural expressions of sub-Saharan Africa."

Although Teage is said to have made the most important personal contribution to the "framing and establishment of Liberia," his "nationalism" always retained a racial dimension, in keeping with its origin in the American environment. He regarded with anguish the "opprobrious epithets" and "contempt" meted out by northern blacks against Liberians.[58] Unlike many black leaders in the United States who viewed emigrants and abolitionists as antagonists, he saw the two communities as "companions in tribulation" and "co-laborers in different compartments of one structure." In keeping with Teage's republican aspirations, he published in 1844 a historical sketch of the Liberian colony in which he criticized European control over Sierra Leone and called in contrast for black self-government in Liberia.[59]

Dissatisfaction with life in the United States is clearly evident in the Liberian Declaration of Independence—Teage's best known work—which detailed the American racism that had both shaped his world view and driven him to Africa, along with other members of the Liberian repatriate community. It reads in part:

> We were everywhere shut out from all civil office.
> We were excluded from all participation in the government.
> We were taxed without consent.
> We were compelled to contribute to the resources of a country, which gave us no protection.
> We were made a separate and distinct class, and against us every avenue to improvement was effectually closed. Strangers from all lands of a color different from ours, were preferred before us.[60]

Also displayed in the language of this declaration is his skill as a writer, as evident in the poetic use of repetition, combined with a poignant recounting of grievances.

Liberia "Favour'd of God"

Teage's black nationalism was clearly anchored in his religious faith, specifically a covenant theory of history, which held that "God periodically chose certain nations to play the role of his chosen people."[61] Just as American Puritans believed that they had inherited the Biblical covenant from the Old Testament Israelites, many African Americans, including Teage, thought the role of God's chosen people had devolved to blacks, due to the involvement of white Americans in the slave system.[62]

This theory was evident in his poem "Wake Every Tune," where he claimed Liberia to be "Favour'd of God."[63] The interpenetration of his religious and political ideas was facilitated by the absence of a firm division between the secular and sacred in African American cosmology, which one scholar characterized as one of "the most important links between African culture and African American Christianity."[64] Writing 19 years before the Civil War culminated in the abolition of slavery, he drew upon a certainty derived from religious faith in predicting:

> The accursed system is tottering to its fall. —All its aiders, abettors and apologists—all its protecting powers in the New World—intellectual and brutal, cannot long sustain it against the advance of liberal and religious principles. The day of darkness has passed. The hosts are mustering for battle. God himself is in the midst.[65]

As Liberians faced the uncertain prospects of independence, Teage sought to reassure his doubtful compatriots by comparing them to a group in the Old Testament that had been elected to be saved from the destruction of an immoral civilization, noting, "Like the wanderers from Sodom, we shall find it certain death to remain here or to return to the city. Hope can be indulged only in going forward."[66]

In their flight from "Sodom," the territory to which many, if not most, 19th century black nationalists sought to escape was Africa, their ancestral home and a land to which many retained cultural ties, having been recently removed. During Teage's childhood in the United States, blacks still referred to and thought of themselves as "Africans," and the names they gave to hundreds of churches and other institutions, such as the *African* Methodist Episcopal Church, reflected this identification with the continent of their origin. Similarly, emigration by the Teage family and others to the area that became Liberia reflected a privileging of Africa—above such alternative sites as Canada and Haiti. To describe their mission, supporters of African colonization appropriated the phrase from

Psalm 68 of the Old Testament, "Princes shall come out of Egypt; Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands unto God."

By appealing to a vision of Africa that was both ancient and awe-inspiring, Teage also sought to empower his audiences with a sense of certainty about achieving their collective goals. Speaking one year before the colony severed its ties to the ACS, he challenged his audience:

> And will the descendants of the mighty Pharaohs, that awed the world—will the sons of him who drove back the serried legions of Rome and laid siege to the "eternal city"—will they, the achievements of whose fathers are yet the wonder and admiration of the world—will they refuse the proffered boon, and basely cling to the chains of Slavery and dependence? Never! never!! never!!![67]

Similarly, his poem "Land of the Mighty Dead" employed references to a more glorious and orderly African past to inspire action toward self-government by his contemporaries:[68]

> Land of the mighty dead! Here science once displayed, And art, their charms; Here awful Pharaohs swayed Great nations who obeyed, Here distant monarchs laid Their vanquished arms.
>
> They hold us in survey, They cheer us on our way They loud proclaim—From Pyramidal hall—From Carnac's sculptured wall—From Thebes they loudly call—Retake your fame!

Teage regarded those indigenous societies then engaged in the slave trade to be debased, fallen from a higher state. The involvement of several African chiefs in the slave trade notwithstanding, he was against the expropriation of land from them without just compensation.[69] As noted in his poem "Wake Every Tuneful String," the independence of Liberia was but the harbinger of a *return* for all Africa to an earlier state of freedom:

> Shout the loud Jubilee Afric once more is free
> Break forth with joy;
> Let Nile's fettered tongue, Let Niger's join the song, And
> Congo's loud and long
> Glad strains employ.[70]

Since all humanity had contributed to "civilization," Teage reasoned, all could aspire to partake of its offerings, including indigenous Africans, whose religious and cultural conversion he justified as a racial duty.[71] The pan-racial element in his thinking led him to welcome indigenous Africans into the polity, but his commitment to Christianity and republicanism made him critical of those African customs linked to servile relations.

Challenged Some African Social Practices, Enjoyed Others

For example, he regarded the status of women, trial by ordeal and some other features of contemporaneous African societies as morally reprehensible and requiring change, if not excision.[72] Toward other features of African culture, he maintained a non-judgmental attitude, a display of relativism that was rare in the 19th century. He took to eating local cuisine,[73] sent a suit made from African cotton cloth for display at an industrial fair in New York,[74] and found African hospitality and several cultural practices worthy of praise.[75] For a Baptist minister, he adopted a surprising moral indifference toward conjuring,[76] which he was able to describe without denunciation, perhaps conditioned by previous exposure to similar practices in Virginia.[77]

Teage's works highlight the significant role of Southern blacks in the forging of black nationalism—a position advanced by social historians Eugene Genovese, Sterling Stuckey and others.[78] His writings also support the argument of Moses that "classical black nationalism brought together the apparently contradictory ideas of cultural assimilation and geopolitical separatism." According to Moses, who has done more than any other scholar to historicize the subject, racial consciousness among African Americans was in its "protonationalist" phase from the late 1770s to 1830, then entered its classical nationalist expression in the years from 1850 to 1925.[79]

Given this periodization, Teage was one of the earliest black nationalists, working as he did between 1830 and 1850. Paradoxically, the racial ideology he articulated helped give rise to a narrow Liberian nationalism and, through the efforts of his protégé Edward Wilmot Blyden (1832-1912), to an all-encompassing pan-Africanism.[80] Twenty-seven years Blyden's senior, Teage had employed the younger man as his clerk while serving as secretary of state and *Herald* editor, positions which Blyden would eventually come to occupy.[81] Teage's mentoring role calls into question a historical chronology that credits the ideas of Blyden as being "the most important historical progenitor of pan-Africanism."[82]

During the 19th century, Teage's reputation and ideas reverberated deeply in Liberia and broadly across the Atlantic. While he was editor, the *Herald* maintained a small but continuous circulation in the United States, through a network of business associates and pro-colonization agents, including William Crane, the white Baptist businessman who had guided his early education.[83] In addition, his writings were regularly reprinted in the *African Repository*, published monthly by the American Colonization Society in Washington, DC, and in the bi-monthly *Maryland Colonization Journal* of Baltimore. In 1848, one of his speeches, along with an address by radical abolitionist Henry Highland Garnet of New York, was included in a booklet published in London that was intended to refute the "calumny" that blacks were incapable of higher education.[84]

When Teage died on May 21, 1853, after a long and painful illness,[85] his passing was noted by *Frederick Douglass' Paper*,[86] which had been a worthy adversary to the colonization cause over the years, but not to those individuals who had opted to emigrate. A *Herald* correspondent reported the passing of "the chiefest luminary in our political sky," and said that through Teage "the melancholy spirit of every Liberian was raised from deep despair to hope."[87] A letter from Liberia reporting the closing of his meteoric career noted, "A great star has fallen in this Republic."[88]

Committed to Modernism & Black Nationalism

From the lowest run of Virginia slave society, Hilary Teage emigrated to Liberia, where he became a successful merchant, Baptist pastor, elected official and influential editor. Although lacking a formal education, his writings showed a deep commitment to an emerging modernism, in the form of republican politics, literary romanticism and epistemological empiricism. Also evident in his writings were the hallmarks of 19th century black nationalism, from criticisms of America for failing to extend republican liberties to blacks, through a covenant theology that confidently assumed God to be "in the midst" of the struggle against slavery, to evocative images of Ancient Egypt meant to inspire and empower his audiences.

In elaborating what was a racially based ideology, he channeled it into both a specifically Liberian nationalism and a broader pan-Africanism. By campaigning relentlessly through the *Liberia Herald*, which he edited for 15 years, this former slave helped to achieve his "grand object," which was the creation of a "nation of colored people on the soil of Africa."

Endnotes

[1]"The Late Hilary Teage, of Liberia," *Maryland Colonization Journal*, 1853, 71.

[2]P. J. Staudenraus, *The African Colonization Movement, 1816-1865* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961).

[3]The original towns and their populations were: Bassa Cove, 52; Edina, 67; Marshall, 68; Monrovia, 463; Sinoe, 40; Bexley, 50; Caldwell, 138; Millsburg, 95; and New Georgia, 121; see C. Abayomi Cassell, *Liberia: History of the First African Republic* (New York: Fountainhead Publishers, 1970), 103, 111-12, 250, 264, and U. S. Senate, *U. S. Navy Department, Tables Showing the Number of Emigrants and Recaptured Africans Sent to the Colony of Liberia by the Government of the United States ... Together with a Census of the Colony of Liberia and a Report of its Commerce, &c. September, 1843*, Senate Document No. 150, 28th Congress, 2d session (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1845).

[4]For black literary and organizational activities of the antebellum era, see R. J. M. Blackett, *Building an Antislavery Wall* (Cornell University Press, 1983); James Oliver Horton, *Free People of Color* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1993); M. E. Dunn, *The Black Press*, 1827-1890 (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1972).

[5]"Reward of Merit," *Maryland Colonization Journal*, August 1846, 220-221; Cassell, Liberia.

[6]*Africa's Luminary*, a semi-monthly newspaper published by the Methodist Episcopal Mission in Monrovia from 1839 to 1841; Vols. 1-3 (15 March 1839-17 December 1841) original in Yale Divinity School Library; microfilm produced for the American Theological Library Association Board of Microtext, Chicago, by Dept. of Photoduplication, University of Chicago Library, 1970; 1 reel, 35 mm; the *African Repository*, the monthly journal of the ACS, published from 1825 to 1892, vols. 1-68 (March 1825-January 1892) available on microfilm from University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan; Vols. 1-25 known as the *African Repository and Colonial Journal*; Vol. 10 contains an index to Vols. 1-10; the *American Colonization Society Annual Report*, 1818-1908/10, with a reprint available from Negro University Press, New York, 1969; *Liberia Herald*, a bi-monthly newspaper published by the colonial government from 1830 to 1839, when it reverted to private ownership, available in the following locations: Library Company of Philadelphia (15 February 1830; 3 May 1843) Library of Congress (6 April 1830; 6 June 1830; 22 April 1831; 22 June 1831; 22 July 1831; 22 February 1832; 7 June 1832; 1 August 1833; 4 September 1833; 20 November 1833; 24 December 1833; 24 January 1834; 24 February 1834; 7 June 1834; 27 December 1834; Oct., 1839) and Maryland Colonization Society Papers (24 January 1844; 30 March 1844; 24 January 1845; 15-31 March 1845; 31 May 1845; 5 September 1845; 7-28 November 1845; 3-17 July 1846; 1 January 1847; 5 March 1847; 2 April 1847; 4 June - 30 July 1847; 26 August-17 December 1847); and the *Maryland Colonization Journal*, a monthly journal published in Baltimore, Maryland, from May 1835-May 1841; new series, June 1841-May 1861; available in the papers of the Maryland Colonization Society (an auxiliary of the ACS), on microfilm reels 28-29 from Scholarly Resources, Wilmington, Delaware; 31 rolls of 35mm, with guide..

[7]Randall M. Miller, ed., *Dear Master: Letters of a Slave Family* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia, 1991); Bell I. Wiley, ed., *Slaves No More: Letters from Liberia*, 1833-1869 (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1980).

[8]"Liberia Herald," *Liberia Herald*, 15 March 1845, 46.

[9]"The Late Hilary Teage, of Liberia," *Maryland Colonization Journal*, October 1853, 72.

[10]These include "The Proceedings of the Liberia Providence Baptist Association," which, according to the *Africa's Luminary*, 19 April 1839, was a recently published pamphlet that contained a pastoral address by him, along with the proceedings of the Liberia Providence Baptist Association Conventions of 1837 and 1838.

[11]The eight most important collections were the American Colonization Society Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress (also available on microfilm through the Library of Congress, Photoduplication Service, Washington, DC; 331 reels); Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Library of Congress; Library Company of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Maryland Colonization Society Papers, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore; Library of Virginia Archives, Richmond; Virginia Historical Society, Richmond; and the Southern Baptist Historical Library and Archives, Nashville.

[12]James Carey, "The Problem of Journalism History," in Eve Stryker Munson and Catherine A. Warren, eds., *James Carey: A Critical Reader* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 86-94, especially p. 89.

[13]Janet M. Cramer, *Woman as Citizen: Race, Class, and the Discourse of Women's Citizenship, 1894-1909*. Journalism & Mass Communication Monograph, no. 165 (Columbia, S. C.: Association for Education in Journalism & Mass Communication, 1998), 13.

[14]John C. Miller, *The Wolf by the Ear: Thomas Jefferson and Slavery* (New York: The Free Press, 1977); also Joyce Appleby, *Capitalism and a New Social Order: The Republican Vision of the 1790s* (New York: New York University Press, 1984), 102; Winthrop D. Jordan, *White Over Black: Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812* (New York: Pelican, 1971), 429-481; Robert McColley, *Slavery and Jeffersonian Virginia* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1973); Ira Berlin and Ronald Hoffman, *Slavery and Freedom in the Age of the American Revolution* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1986).

[15]For black nationalism generally, see Wilson J. Moses, *Classical Black Nationalism: From the American Revolution to Marcus Garvey* (New York: New York University, 1996), 41, 5, 36 n. 2; also John H. Bracey, Jr., August Meier, and Elliott M. Rudwick, eds., *Black Nationalism in America* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1970); E. U. Essien-Udon, *Black Nationalism: A Search for an Identity in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962); Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York, Vintage, 1976), xv; Sterling Stuckey, *Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory and the Foundations of Black America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 3-97.

[16]"Letter from Mr. Teage to Hon. S. Wilkeson dated Monrovia, 10 December 1840," *African Repository*, 5 March 1841, 95.

[17]Imanuel Geiss, *The Pan-African Movement* (New York: Homes and Meier, 1974).

[18]Clifford Geertz, "Ideology as a Cultural System," in David Apter, ed., *Ideology and Discontent* (New York: Free Press, 1964), 47-76.

[19]"William Crane to the Rev. O. B. Brown, 28 March 1819," in J. B. Taylor, *Biography of Elder Lott Cary, Late Missionary to Africa* (Baltimore: Armstrong and Berry, 1837), 17-18.

[20]United States Census Office, *Fourth Census of the United States* (Washington, DC, 1820), Roll #132, 95, 98.

[21]Ralph R. Gurley, *The Life of Jehudi Ashmun* (James C. Dunn, 1835), 147-148; Taylor, *Biography of Elder*, 13, 19.

[22]Philip Slaughter, *The Virginia History of African Colonization* (Richmond: 1855); John H. Russell, *The Free Negro in Virginia*, 1619-1865 (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1913), 73; Marie Tyler-McGraw, "Richmond Free Blacks and African Colonization, 1816-1832," *Journal of American Studies* (Great Britain) 21 (2): 207-224, especially p. 217; D. R. Egerton, "'Its Origin is Not a Little Curious': A New Look at the American Colonization Society," *Journal of the Early Republic* 5 (1985): 463-480.

[23]Tom W. Shick, *Emigrants to Liberia: 1820 to 1843: An Alphabetical Listing* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware, 1971), 96.

[24]Taylor, 19. For the role of Crane in Hilary's education, see William A. Poe, "Not Christopolis but Christ and Caesar: Baptist Leadership in Liberia," *Journal of Church and State*, 23 (3): 535-551, especially p. 538.

[25]Tyler-McGraw, "Richmond Free Blacks," 213; Marie Tyler-McGraw, "'The Prize I Mean is the Prize of Liberty': A Loudon County Family in Liberia," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 97 (1989), 355-374; Virginius Dabney, *Richmond: The Story of a City* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1990), 77.

[26]Dwight N. Syfert, "The Origins of Privilege," *Liberian Studies Journal 6* (Fall 1975), 109-128; Dwight N. Syfert, "A History of the Liberian Coasting Trade, 1821-1900" (Indiana University, Ph. D. dissertation, 1977), 280-281; Robert W. July, *The Origins of Modern African Thought* (New York: Praeger, 1967), 96.

[27]Syfert, "The Origin of Privilege," 114-6, 126-7; Syfert, "A History of the Liberian Coasting Trade," 271, 280-281, 283; July, *The Origins of Modern African Thought*, 93-100, especially p. 96.

[28]"The Election," *Africa's Luminary*, 3 Jan. 1840; Syfert, "A History of the Liberian Coasting Trade," 280-281; Edith Holden, *Blyden of Liberia* (New York: Vantage, 1966), 36. According to an author who worked at the Liberian State Department and had full access to official records, Teage also served as the country's first secretary of that department; see Nathaniel Richardson, *Liberia's Past and Present* (London: Diplomatic Press, 1959), 59, n *.

[29]"The Lyceum and the Lectures" and "For Africa's Luminary: The Liberia Lyceum," *Africa's Luminary*, 7 Aug. 1840, 38-39; Tom W. Shick, "Rhetoric and Reality: Colonization and Afro-American Missionaries in Early Nineteenth-Century Liberia," in Sylvia Jacobs, *Black Americans and the Missionary Movement in Africa* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1982), 162, n. 50; Wiley, 29-30, Letter 15.

[30]"The Late Hilary Teage, of Liberia," *Maryland Colonization Journal*, 1853, 71-72.

[31]"Death in Liberia," *Maryland Colonization Journal*, 1853, 47.

[32]"Dearh of Hon. Hillary Teage," *Maryland Colonization Journal*, 1853, 47.

[33]Edward W. Blyden to William Coppinger, 3 June 1878, in Lynch, *Selected Letters*, 270.

[34]"Additions to the Baptist Churches in the last Five Months," *African Repository*, August 1848, 234; Poe, 535-551.

[35]Antonio Gramsci, *Prison Notebook* (New York: International Publishers, 1973), 5-23.

[36]"The Late Hilary Teage, of Liberia," *Maryland Colonization Journal*, 1853, 71.

[37]"The Late Hilary Teage, of Liberia," *Maryland Colonization Journal*, 1853, 72.

[38]For the role of John B. Russwurm in Liberian politics and the events that led to his resignation as editor of the *Liberia Herald*, see Carl Patrick Burrowes, "Press Freedom in Liberia, 1830-1847: The Impact of Heterogeneity and Modernity," *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 74, 2 (1997): 331-347.

[39]"From the Liberia Herald," *Africa's Luminary*, 18 Oct. 1839.

[40]A unit of measure in Nineteenth Century Liberia that was equivalent to six imperial gallons of 3 kg.

[41]"An African Editor," *Liberia Herald*, 17 March 1842, 19.

[42]Geoffrey Tillotson, Paul Fussell and Marshall Waingrow, *Eighteenth-Century English Literature* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1969), 18.

[43]"Address Delivered Before the Liberia Lyceum, in the Council Chamber on May 21, 1845," *Liberia Herald*, 31 May 1845, 9-10.

[44]"Liberia Herald," *Liberia Herald*, 26 Nov. 1842, 8; "A Conjurer and Conjuration," *Liberia Herald*, 3 July 1846, 70.

[45]"Republican Legislature," *Liberia Herald*, 29 Dec. 1849, 10. Although Teage used only last names, these writers were probably intended, given their popularity at the time.

[46]Hilary Teage to R. R. Gurley, Monrovia, 20 March 1839, ACS Papers.

[47]Stephen Cornford, *Edward Young "Night Thoughts"* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), ix; also Russell Noyes, *English Romantic Poetry and Prose* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), xxiii. For a reference by Teage to "Night Thought," see "Liberia Herald," *Liberia Herald*, 1 Jan. 1847, 22-23. According to Cornford, Young's "Night Thoughts" was not only "one of the most influenrial, praised and well known poems of the English language" during the nineteenth century, bur it was also revered by some Christians as a "standard devotional work," second only to the Bible.

[48]"Anniversary Speech," *Liberia Herald*, 18 December 1846, 17-18, and "Anniversary Speech (continued)," *Liberia Herald*, 5 February 1847, 29-30.

[49]For examples, see "Liberia Herald," *Liberia Herald*, 21 Jan. 1843, 11, and "The Luminary," *Liberia Herald*, 11 February 1843.

[50]In the nineteenth century, "cassado" a common spelling of cassava, the root of a shrubby tropical plant that is a staple food in parts of Liberia and many areas of the tropics.

[51]"An African Editor," *Liberia Herald*, 17 March 1842, 19.

[52]Alvin Sullivan, ed., *British Literary Magazines: The Romantic Age, 1789-1836* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1983), 424-433; Richard A. Schwarzlose, *Newspapers: A Reference Guide* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1987).

[53]"Liberia Herald," *African Repository*, April 1837, 131-132.

[54]"Our Affairs," *Liberia Herald*, 18 Dec. 1846, 19.

[55]"Liberia Herald," *Liberia Herald*, 7 Nov. 1847.

[56][Hilary Teage,] "The *Liberia Herald* with Regard to Independence," *Thirteenth Annual Report of the ACS*, 1847, 21.

[57]Moses, 1-42. For the religious foundation of black nationalism, see Genovese, 280-284;

[58]"The *Weekly Elevator*," *Liberia Herald*, 30 March 1844, 2; also Hilary Teage to the Rev. J. B. Pinney, Monrovia, 27 August 1852, printed in ACS *Annual Report*, January 1853, 17-18.

[59]"Death of Hon. Hillary Teage," *Maryland Colonization Journal*, 1853, 47; Hilary Teage, "The Colony of Liberia [Part 1]," *African Repository*, September 1844, 257-61; "Hilary Teage, "The Colony of Liberia [Part 2]," *African Repository*, January 1845, 13-17.

[60]Republic of Liberia, *The Independent Republic of Liberia: Its Constitution and Declaration of Independence ... Issued Chiefly for Use by the Free People of Color*. (Philadelphia: William F. Geddes, 1848).

[61]Michael Lienesch, *New Order of the Ages: Time, the Constitution and the Making of Modern American Political Thought* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 197.

[62]Poe, 535-551; C. Eric Lincoln and Lawrence H. Mamiya, *The Black Church in the African-American Experience* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1990), 22.

[63]"Wake Every Tuneful String," *Liberia Herald*, 26 August 1847, 76.

[64]Donald G. Mathews, *Religion in the Old South* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), 190.

[65]"The *Weekly Elevator*," *Liberia Herald*, 30 March 1844, 2.

[66]"Address Delivered Before the *Liberia Lyceum*," *Liberia Herald*, 31 May 1845, 9-10.

[67]"Anniversary Speech, December 1st, 1846," *Liberia Herald*, 18 December 1846, 17-18, and *Liberia Herald*, 4 February 1847, 29-30.

[68]"Land of the Mighty Dead," *Liberia Herald*, 23 December 1842, 8. This poem was reprinted as "Specimen of Liberian Poetry," *African Repository*, June 1843, 191-192, and *Maryland Colonization Journal*, July 1843, 32, with the note, "sung to the tune 'Bermondsey'."

[69]"*Liberia Herald*," *Liberia Herald*, 16 October 1846, 2.

[70]"Wake Every Tuneful String," *Liberia Herald*, 26 August 1847, 76; reprinted in *African Repository*, February 1848, 58.

[71]e. g., "Internal Improvement," *Liberia Herald*, 3 May 1843, 25.

[72]"*Liberia Herald*," *Liberia Herald*, 30 September 1843, 31; "Tender Mercies of Heathenism," *Liberia Herald*, 30 September 1843, 31;

[73]See various references to "cassado" as part of his cuisine in "An African Editor," *Liberia Herald*, 17 March 1842, 19; "Hard Times," *Liberia Herald*, 31 May 1845, 11; "Scarcity," *Liberia Herald*, 4 June 1847, 62.

[74]Hilary Teage to R. R. Gurley, Monrovia, 12 April 1839, ACS Papers.

[75]"A Beautiful Custom," *Liberia Herald*, 28 July 1848, 38; "Excursion," *Liberia Herald*, 19 April 1842, 22; "African Belief," *Liberia Herald*, 30 March 1844.

[76]"A Conjurer and Conjuration," *Liberia Herald*, 3 July 1846, 70.

[77]For information on conjuring among Virginia blacks, see Charles L. Perdue, Jr., Thomas E. Barden and Robert K. Phillips, eds., *Weevils in the Wheat: Interviews with Virginia Ex-Slaves* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976); Mechal Sobel, *The World They Made Together: Black and White Values in Eighteenth-Century Virginia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 41-43, 338.

[78]Genovese, xv; Stuckey, 3-97.

[79]Moses, 2.

[80]For the black nationalist antecedents of pan-Africanism and of African micto nationalisms, see Hollis R. Lynch, *Edward Wilmot Blyden: Pan-Negro Patriot*, 1832-1912 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970); Henry S. Wilson, *Origins of West African Nationalism* (New York: St. Martin's, 1969). For Teage's contribution to African thought, see July, *The Origins of Modern African Thought*, 85-109.

[81]Lynch, *Edward Wilmot Blyden*, 492. For Blyden's invocation of a poem by Teage during a visit to the pyramids in Egypt, see Holden, *Blyden of Liberia*, 141.

[82]Lynch, *Edward Wilmot Blyden*, 251; also Holden, *Blyden of Liberia*; Hollis R. Lynch, *Selected Letters of Edward Wilmot Blyden* (Millwood, N. J.: KTO Press, 1978).

[83]William Crane, Esq., served for several years as the agent of the *Herald* in Baltimore, Maryland (e. g., "From the *Liberia Herald*," *Liberia Herald*, 18 October 1839, and "Agents for the *Liberia Herald*," *Liberia Herald*, 28 February 1849).

[84]E. Wilson Armistead, *Calumny Refuted by Facts from Liberia* (London: 1848).

[85]Two years before his death, he ended a letter to an ACS official with "I now close, by soliciting an interest in your prayers. Yours, in affliction" (Hilary Teage to J. B. Pinney, Montovia, May 17, 1851, printed in *African Repository*, September 1851, 269).

[86]*Frederick Douglass' Paper*, 3 June 1853.

[87]Daniel B. Warner, "Letter to the Editor," *Liberia Herald*, 15 June 1853, 86.

[88]"Death in Liberia," *Maryland Colonization Journal*, 1853, 47.

Women's Moral Reform Periodicals of the 19th Century: A Cultural Feminist Analysis of *The Advocate*

By Therese L. Lueck

A publication staffed and produced entirely by women for nearly a century, The Advocate, *the national publication of the female moral reform movement, brings women's journalism more fully into the assessment of national journalistic traditions. This analysis of* The Advocate *situates women's reform periodicals at the forefront of cultural feminist intellectual history. Cultural feminist theory enables* The Advocate *to be seen as a forum for a national dialogue of women's worth. This perspective also foregrounds consideration of the values derived from women's culture that* The Advocate *used in retraining prostitutes to become composers and typesetters on the publication.*

On filthy city streets where women sold their bodies and the urban poor struggled to survive, 19th century evangelical Protestant women saw a corrupt society in desperate need of reform. Compelled by missionary zeal, these white upper-middle class women banded together to, quite literally, clean up American society. The messengers for this moral crusade were the 19th century female reform periodicals, which enabled these women to boldly broaden their domestic sphere of influence to encompass society at large.

The New York Female Moral Reform Society was founded in the 1830s, a time known as the "Second Great Awakening" when "a millennial spirit pervaded efforts at transforming United States society,"

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and reformers "sought not merely social change but spiritual transformation, the moral regeneration of the world."[1] The society started what was to become the national reform periodical, *The Advocate*,[2] during this period. From the mid-19th to the mid-20th century, *The Advocate* was the foremost messenger in the crusade for moral reform.[3] This magazine had two specific missions: to convert prostitutes and to publicize incidents of sexual assault. It did not put blame on women for prostitution. Rather, it laid a full measure of responsibility on the men who had seduced the women in the first place and on the adulterers who kept prostitution thriving. *The Advocate* also educated children against becoming either victims or perpetrators of immoral behavior.

This study situates women's reform periodicals at the forefront of the 19th century cultural feminist tradition so that they can better claim their place in American feminist intellectual history. Relying on analysis of the national female reform periodical *The Advocate* as women's culture, this research is an attempt to more fully incorporate these periodicals into journalism history so that their influence and impact can be further assessed in the development of national journalistic traditions.

Examining Female Practices and Values

Theorist Josephine Donovan has proposed that cultural feminism, "the second major tradition of 19th-century feminist theory," may be an appropriate theoretical framework for an examination of female reform societies and their publications.[4] Whereas liberal feminism, seen as the 19th century's first feminist theoretical tradition, is the feminist theory most often employed in examining US media, it is not the most useful perspective for analyzing these types of periodicals. While these magazines did advocate some legislative reforms and rights for women, the typical indicators recognized by liberal feminism as progress, these aspects were not the focus of the social vision that guided moral reform publications. That mission was to reform prostitutes and shelter, educate, and train homeless women and children.

Liberal feminist theory's inheritance from liberal political theory is its blindness to the homefront, community building, and traditional women's organizing, which causes it to be a less than adequate theoretical perspective for examination of these magazines as women's culture. Liberal feminism's dual emphases on the individual and equality define a perspective that, when applied to these reformers and their work, does not enable viewing them as feminist or their activism as important.

Cultural feminism is a form of feminist separatism that seeks to set women's culture apart so that a separate set of female values and practices

can be nurtured within that women-centered space. Historian Alice Echols noted that cultural feminists operate within patriarchal boundaries to positively equate women with culturally defined female traits and that in particular "cultural feminists wish to establish a female standard of sexuality."[5] Researcher Linda Alcoff stated that cultural feminist theory is "grounded securely and unambiguously on the concept of the essential female,"[6] or that the ideology of a cultural feminist theoretical perspective relies on biologically determined sex difference. On top of that, Echols noted that cultural feminism is "committed to preserving rather than challenging gender differences."[7] The theory does not question the cultural positioning of femininity in opposition to masculinity as gender description. However, recognizing that patriarchy has described femininity in restrictive terms in order to define the nature of masculinity as dominant, cultural feminists have adopted those very terms and used them to redefine femaleness in order to empower women.

Donovan noted that contemporary cultural feminists exhibit their intellectual heritage by espousing the view that a "women's political value system may be derived from traditional women's culture and applied to the public realm." However, she maintained, "Contemporary feminists are more aware of the need to systematize cultural feminist ideology . . . than were their 19th-century predecessors who . . . tended to feel that pacifist and reformist attitudes were inherent in women's nature." She pointed to the importance of the cultural feminist intellectual tradition, stating, "Cultural feminism remains one of the most important traditions of feminist theory, if somewhat more sophisticated in form and political consciousness today than in the 19th century."[8]

Echols observed that "by equating feminism with the so-called reassertion of a female identity and culture, cultural feminism seems to promise an immediate solution to women's powerlessness in the culture at large."[9] Using the activism of the second-wave feminists of the latter 20th century as an example, Echols acknowledged that "cultural feminism has succeeded in mobilizing feminists . . . however fragile the alliance."[10] Radical feminist Jo Freeman charted the emergence of latter 20th century cultural feminism as "an attempt to identify and extol what women had in common, to put substance on the concept of sisterhood. It became a celebration of all things female without concern for whether these things came from hormones, socialization, or social status. As had happened earlier in the prior woman movement, difference between the sexes was elevated to a primary principle with female characteristics claiming the moral edge."[11] Such conscious defining of this theory in the late 20th century has enabled historical researchers to identify its earlier emergence.

Women As Morally Superior

Researcher Barbara Berg has traced the roots of American feminism to the 19th century women's volunteer societies.[12] Such an observation recognized the boldness of these women and their social activism, including the publication and distribution of their periodicals. But such a feminist tracing has tended to beg the question: Did their activism enable these women to transcend their traditional sphere, which has been defined as the "Cult of True Womanhood"[13]? Contradictions have emerged when a liberal feminist lens has been used to examine these women, their reforms, and their publications.

In reflecting the female moral reform movement itself, the leading periodical, *The Advocate*, presented what researcher Mary Ryan viewed as contradictory tendencies. While it exposed the double standard of sexual morality, it also "reveled in portraying the . . . 19th-century stereotype of 'true womanhood.'"[14] Historian Carroll Smith-Rosenberg postulated that female reformers were able to effectively expand their influence beyond the domestic sphere by carrying with them the authority bestowed them by virtue of this "Cult of True Womanhood."[15] The belief in the essential difference between women and men and that women's inherent moral superiority resided in that difference situated these 19th century reformers at a formative stage of the American cultural feminist tradition. These beliefs guided their vision of reform, which went "beyond the fundamentally rationalist and legalistic thrust of Enlightenment liberal theory. Instead of focusing on political change, feminists holding these ideas look for a broader cultural transformation."[16]

In her feminist reconstruction of Victorian America, Smith-Rosenberg observed: "We turned to women's religious enthusiasm, tracing the influence of millennial religion on women's reform activities and role expansion. Some women who held back from self-conscious feminism, we discovered, had nevertheless assumed innovative roles as urban philanthropists, public-health advocates, opponents of child labor."[17] Crediting Margaret Fuller with initiating cultural feminist theory, Donovan traced its intellectual tradition from Romanticism and, more directly, from American Transcendentalism, a movement that relied on the superiority of intuition over reason.[18] The work of the reformers in the dirty city streets was anything but romantic; however, their romantic vision for cultural transformation worked as a sustaining optimism as these women ventured into the depths of the cities to bring forth forgotten women.

Drawing a distinction between feminism and women's rights, Berg stated that *The Advocate* "continuously and explicitly refuted the traditional role assigned to antebellum women and urged a feminist critique of

society."[19] Female moral reform publications did not dwell on equal rights for women, but more than a decade earlier than the 1848 Seneca Falls Convention,[20] moral reform societies were advocating that women enlarge their sphere of influence to encompass more of the public realm. Smith-Rosenberg has credited the moral reform movement with being the forerunner of the woman's rights movement in the United States. "Both groups found women's traditionally passive role intolerable. Both wished to assert female worth and values in a heretofore entirely male world. Both welcomed the creation of a sense of feminine loyalty and sisterhood that could give emotional strength and comfort to women isolated within their homes . . . . And it can hardly be assumed that the demand for votes for women was appreciably more radical than a moral absolutism which encouraged women to invade bordellos, befriend harlots, and publicly discuss rape, seduction, and prostitution."[21]

Liberal feminism, which has driven feminist media research in the latter 20th century, necessarily views female reformers and their work as a contradiction. Such dichotomy once defined by a theoretical perspective becomes a closed argument. In this case, liberal feminism has circled back on itself instead of advancing feminist discussion and theoretical development. Liberal feminism's inability to provide a sense-making frame for women's culture and traditions causes it to be an inadequate theoretical tool for the examination of moral reform magazines. Cultural feminism provides a perspective that dissolves the contradiction Ryan noted, resolving the perceived dichotomy between domestic and public action that a liberal feminist perspective only exacerbates.

The researchers here reviewed have recognized many of the contributions of 19th century female reform societies, and at least one of them has noted that these accomplishments would be more evident when examined from a cultural feminist perspective. However, in general, there has been a lack of scholarly consideration of these women, their societies, and their publications. The accepted classification of moral reform as falling outside the feminist movement has pushed these 19th century reformers into the margins of feminist intellectual history, minimizing the recognition of their impact on feminist theoretical development. Since moral reform periodicals have been considered outside the prevailing feminist theoretical framework, they have not been defined as feminist publications and therefore have not received the scholarly attention that they deserve. The lack of a cohesive body of feminist analysis of moral reform publications has marginalized the importance of these early women-driven periodicals in the history of American journalism.

Journalism historian Susan Henry cited *The Advocate* as an excellent example of "the journalism produced by the women who lived and

believed most fervently in the values" of women's culture, a sphere separate from the men's, in which women "developed shared, female-identified values, rituals, relationships, and modes of communication that were sources of satisfaction and strength." She called for further research: "*The Advocate* is waiting to be studied by a journalism historian who can analyze it within the context of women's culture of the period."[22] Consideration of the publications and the culture that produced them may be enabled by the shift of feminist perspective proposed with this study in its analysis of *The Advocate*.

Launched by New York Female Reformers

The roots of the *Advocate* begin with a group of women who followed the teachings of missionary John McDowall. In 1832, McDowall had issued a controversial report on the need for the reform of New York society. In spite of the public censure McDowall incurred because of these pronouncements, the women sought further inspiration in the revivals of theologian and reformer Charles G. Finney and formed their own society, the New York Female Moral Reform Society, on May 12, 1834.[23] In the fall of 1834, the society voted to purchase *McDowall's Journal* and "transform it into a national women's paper with an exclusively female staff."[24] The journal was launched in 1835 as *The Advocate of Moral Reform*.

> Among their first efforts was the commencement of a periodical, whose design was to exalt the law of God, and thus prevent its violation—to guard the domestic hearth from the invasion of the Spoiler, thus preventing the fall of the innocent; and, as far as practicable, to produce such a reform in the public sentiment, that the morally debased should be . . . made to feel that access to the favor of the virtuous could only be secured by being pure in heart.[25]

The Advocate was the national female moral reform periodical, but it was by no means the only women's publication dedicated to these causes. While the New York Female Moral Reform Society was repositioning itself as the national organization and renaming itself the American Female Moral Reform Society, the New England Female Moral Reform Society began its publication, *The Friend of Virtue*.[26] As a regional society, the New England society had the potential to pull members from a national society and to divert subscribers from the newly national magazine. Although *The Advocate* recognized *The Friend of Virtue* as competi-

tion for subscribers—and its society as competition for members—it viewed the publication as a sister in the cause of social reform. "The formation of the New England Moral Reform Society (a sister enterprise that sustains a periodical—is doing much good, and worthy the encouragement of all friends of Reform) has tended to lessen the number of the New England subscribers and Auxiliaries, but we believe they are still efficient in the cause, and therefore the early bond remains unchanged."[27]

As the nationally circulated periodical, *The Advocate* was essential to the outreach mission of the reform society, which noted that without its journal "there is every reason to believe the usefulness of the Society would have been greatly circumscribed, perhaps . . . wholly suspended . . . . The sole aim of all its publications has been to carry out a specific object of the Society[:] the formation of a correct public sentiment, relative to the prevention of vice, the discharge of Christian duty in meeting the claims of the young, friendless, destitute and exposed, and the obligations of the family to extend its guardianship and moral influence over those within its reach."[28] Impassioned by their cause to reform society's morals, these women created *The Advocate* to extend their influence beyond their domestic sphere.

Subtle Subversion of Religious Hierarchy

The cause of moral reform hinged on the Seventh Commandment, or the admonition against committing adultery.[29] Yet controversy surrounded how publicly adultery should be discussed. Women's frustration with the taboo against discussing this subject was a recurring theme in the publications. For example, one article cited a conversation between a woman and her niece that attributed the aunt's disdain of her minister to his refusal to preach on the Seventh Commandment.[30] This hesitancy of ministers to preach against adultery was widespread. Although moral reform was a subject ministers were not addressing from the pulpit, lay efforts were objected to as "promiscuous exhibition."[31]

The Advocate, however, boldly spoke out about matters ministers hesitated to address, subtly subverting the organized religious hierarchy. Because of the controversial nature of their subject, editors felt constrained to defend their publications, noting that the facts they provided were "calculated to show the terrible consequences of the sin of licentiousness."[32] Reform advocates found themselves consistently called on to rationalize their mission and contextualize the discourse of their publications. "Moral Reform we regard as a broad subject . . . . Consequently the details of vice, and what is technically called Moral Reform, include but a small portion of the topics presented to our readers."[33]

Those who took objection to activism against adultery argued that adultery was not an appropriate topic for public discussion, much less by women. With its connotations of adultery and prostitution, the phrase "moral reform" was considered to impart particular vulgarity when used by women. The editors of these publications were women. In addition to addressing socially sensitive material, editing publications was not a culturally accepted occupation for women, so they felt compelled to put themselves forward as ladies. "*The Advocate* is, as it professes to be, EXCLUSIVELY under the direction of the American Female Moral Reform Society—it is edited entirely by a lady."[34] Despite defining themselves as "ladies," these women were not given to euphemism and did not shirk from addressing social problems in a straightforward manner not found anywhere else in cultural discourse. However, when it was determined that the term "moral reform" was discouraging financial contributors as well as magazine subscribers, the phrase was dropped from the title of the national publication and its society.

The Advocate was able to foster a national network among women activists who otherwise would have operated in isolated pockets or given up altogether. Sister associations used *The Advocate* as their forum. One group's sentiment typified the ostracism of women who publicly broached issues of rape, incest, or prostitution: "As a society of a little band of females, we are surrounded by discouragements; we have not the hearty co-operation of our ministers . . . . We regard *The Advocate* as well calculated to enlighten and instruct and believe it may be, in many instances, the monitor and protector of the unwary and innocent."[35] Women readers also looked to these periodicals for advice. In the New England periodical, one woman wrote that when she was young a "pretended gentleman" turned out to be a stalker. If not for the warnings and the identification of this type of behavior in the *Friend of Virtue*, she wondered "what would have become" of her.[36]

The Nation As an Extended Family

Educated, morally righteous women, the editors of moral reform publications gathered their authority from the domestic sphere and extended their realm of legitimacy outwards from the family to the larger society. Editors advocated cultural restructuring by using the family as a natural stepping stone to personalizing problems of the nation. "The Family takes precedence. It was instituted in the Garden of Eden. The State is of later origin."[37] With so many family circles broken during the Civil War, *The Advocate* characterized America as a "nation of mourners."[38] It saw the rends in the nation's social fabric as the great evil of the war, and thus the reuniting of the nation as a family was the war's great

triumph.[39] Considering the nation its extended family, *The Advocate*'s editorial voice guided the establishment of a women's culture and defined the values nurtured within that culture.

While editors held that women were different from men, and in that difference morally superior, they were not blind to the fact that some women needed guidance. Treating this lack as ignorance, they carried their critique of society back into the realm of the domestic sphere, endeavoring to educate readers. In addition to the "partial silence on the pulpit," poor childhood training was considered one of the primary causes of crime. The target audience was women who were presumed to be mothers and as such held responsible for the formation of the moral character of their children.[40] Editors filled pages with cautionary tales, such as one that told of a man who nearly escaped jail time even though he molested children on their way home from school. The reader who sent in the clipping pointed out that two of the molested girls did not reveal the crime until their mothers noticed the girls had contracted a disease. "Is it not a duty that mothers owe their children to teach them, if insulted in this way, to scream? Should they not, as they value their safety, teach them to distinguish between right and wrong on all subjects that they may need to understand . . . ."[41]

When editors found articles in other publications that echoed their sentiments, they would reprint them for their readers. For example, these editors considered it necessary, not selfish, for mothers to attend to their own health and well-being. *The Friend of Virtue* ran a reprint that emphasized, "How important an element of domestic order and happiness is the health of the mother! A disordered house, a table alternately extravagant and mean, a group of children with untidy persons and rude manners, too surely indicate the absence of a mother's care."[42] Mothers were asked to keep uppermost children's physical, as well as spiritual, needs. Contrary to conventional wisdom, mothers were urged to encourage the physical education of their daughters. The publication ran an article advocating plain food, exercise, and a good "romp": "Let us give our daughters the training which makes our sons healthy, and they will be so likewise."[43] If mothers neglected these basic responsibilities, they did so with serious moral consequence.

> Do not mothers, by neglecting important duties in the training of their children, help to swell the dark catalogue of crime? . . . And now, dear mothers, let me give you a little advice, and do not be shocked at the seeming vulgarity. Instead of consulting half a dozen doctors, . . . give your daughters healthy employment; let them rise early in the morning, clean the parlors . . . . Let them cultivate the flowers . . . .[44]

Mothers were recognized as role models who could mould and fashion the minds and manners, the habits and feelings of their children, especially those of daughters, into almost any form they please. But in doing this, they must also see to it that they are, themselves, what they would wish their children to be.[45]

A Place to Discuss Seduction

Unlike the other editors of the day, moral reform editors allowed many women's voices to be heard throughout the pages of their publications. Female readers displayed a sense of moral responsibility similar to that of the editors, as did one reader in her complaint about a secular magazine's frontispiece: "I feel prompted by a sense of duty, as a friend to the young, as a friend to good morals, as a friend to purity, as the rightful guardian of my daughter's chastity, 'in thought, speech and behavior,' to protest against such exquisitely immodest prints."[46] Readers submitted accounts of seduction, which they could share nowhere else, such as one woman's story about being raped while she was traveling, to which the editor added the caution, "Let those of the weaker sex who may read it, be admonished never to travel alone in a public conveyance, till a renovated state of society is apparent."[47]

Making known the plight of "fallen" women was a focus of moral reform publications and the first step in the activist mission of the women in the moral reform movement. Reformers did not shirk their self-imposed duty when they began to realize the larger implications of their actions. As reformers recognized that they were disrupting women's livelihoods when they discouraged prostitution, these reformers took an interest in women's economy, which can be seen as they addressed female labor on the pages of *The Advocate*. For example, in 1859 the national society developed a sewing machine fund through which they supplied the "most worthy" with sewing machines,[48] which they bought from manufacturers and sold to the women. To achieve financial autonomy, the seamstresses made installment payments of $3 to $5 a month on the machines. After one year, the fund had distributed 42 sewing machines, and most of the money had been repaid.[49]

"Printed at the Home of Industry"

Beyond recording the society's labor reform efforts, *The Advocate* enabled women to work, most notably on its own pages. The national society housed victimized women at its shelter, which was known as the Home of Industry, a place where women were offered employment training. This retraining included learning skills for the typesetting and

printing of *The Advocate*. By June 1859, the publisher's box ran the line "Printed at the Home of Industry." While viewing this self-publishing as an achievement, editors felt constrained to answer questions of social impropriety: "To the inquiry, 'Why should a benevolent society publish and print on their own premises, in a charitable institution?' we reply, the Society has issued a paper, as its organ with the public, during the 25 years of its existence, which facts without number have proved indispensable to the success of the enterprise."[50]

By 1861 the paper was entirely produced by women. The society found the consolidation of operations convenient and less expensive, and the "experiment" of encouraging young girls "to live honestly by the work of their hands . . . not only self-sustaining but advantageous."[51] After four years of being printed in the Home Chapel basement, the publication stated that "every branch of the business is satisfactorily performed" by the females in the home,

> not merely the type-setting . . . but the more difficult processes of the art, including the proof-reading and other complex details, being subject only to the general oversight of the superintendent of this department. There are now eight female employees regularly engaged, with two assisting occasionally. Three of these are deaf-mutes, who have already attained a satisfactory proficiency in those branches for which previous education had fitted them. This "corps" of laborers prepare the pages of *The Advocate* for stereotyping—it now being printed by steam from plates—print the wrappers, and fold the papers ready for mailing . . . . [W]e expect to graduate a number of young women as proficients in the course of a few years.[52]

Both from the standpoint of providing skills training for women and of producing the publication at reasonable cost, the "experiment" of using women as in-house labor to produce *The Advocate* was deemed successful and was continued as normal practice. Readers did not feel that women's labor cheapened the publication. Circulation increased fairly steadily, despite the fact that the high price of paper during the Civil War forced some thinner issues.[53] Although *The Advocate* had a practice of circulating as many as half of the issues without cost,[54] the publication was operated at a profit, and this money went toward the society's home for the destitute. In this manner, *The Advocate* itself became the society's strongest voice, supporter and role model for women's labor.

The Advocate charted its own progress in the unconventional use of women's work, noting that the printing department "appears to be a

decided success, as regards the feasibility of carrying on the various branches of printing and publishing wholly by female operatives."[55] Much as the reformers enlarged their sphere of influence, they incrementally expanded the duties of the women working on the publication, from production to distribution to securing additional work. The publication noted in 1861 that production "included in its sphere the mailing of the papers, in addition to all the other manual processes connected with the issue of *The Advocate and Guardian*, together with the execution of miscellaneous pamphlet and jobbing work."[56] In reaping the rewards of its labor "experiment," the publication extolled the virtues of women's culture and of women, even of women society had discarded once they were reclaimed in this women's culture. "It is now satisfactorily demonstrated that with the necessary intellectual capacity and preparatory literary acquirements, young women are as well fitted for the business as the other sex."[57] *The Advocate* also noted that the women's work was "superior."[58]

Reformers did not themselves cheapen the worth of the women's labor, but in recognizing the differences between women and men, instituted fair labor practices within their own operation. "[F]rom the experiment made in the 'Home' Printing Office, they are more apt to learn and fully as reliable, except, perhaps in the power of continued endurance. In our office, provision is made not to overtax the operatives, in this respect, by working fewer hours each day and allowing occasional respite from office duties."[59]

Once the foundations for this women's culture had been established, the pages of *The Advocate* over the years charted the shift in the national society's mission from reforming women to housing and educating children until they were graduated from high school and ready to support themselves.[60] A print of the imposing home was added to the publication's masthead, reflecting the refocused mission to house the "friendless." The shift in focus enabled the society and its publication to successfully survive to the mid-20th century.[61]

Carved Out a Public Sphere for Women

Moral reform activists brought values of the white middle-class women's domestic sphere out to bear on the public sphere by carving out a space for women in the public domain and establishing a women's culture in that space. The voice developed in this women's culture was embodied in the moral reform periodical. Editors guided the moral assessment of society as an extended family. So, too, they brought their moral message back into the domestic sphere, urging mothers to exercise and educate their children and to pay particular attention to their daugh-

ters so that they would not number among the lost and forgotten. Moral reform publications carried the voices of women who would not be silenced, even by the religion and the religious leaders they revered. Through the national dissemination of its messages, *The Advocate* created a sisterhood among female reformers.

The Advocate spoke in a profoundly female voice, unusual to hear even more than a century later. It was a periodical bought with the intent of transforming it into a female-staffed publication. Having accomplished that and more, if these women cannot be seen to have achieved the moral regeneration of American society, the attainment of their grand vision still did not falter. From within a culture they created in 19th century American society, they transformed this publication to enable it to carry their vision into the larger society. They created a female editorial voice to speak of women's worth. They pulled women from the seamy side of society to enact that transformation. And they succeeded. In reeducating these women, making them literate and skilled, reform activists transformed their own publication, *The Advocate*, into a national role model that showcased the place of women in society and the value of women's work.

The women of the 19th century moral reform movement set out to counteract culturally sanctioned practices in what began as an unabashedly female manner of traditional influence. They established female auxiliaries to the male religious societies to address what the male hierarchy refused to address—adultery, seduction, rape and prostitution. During the formation of their religious societies, the women realized the need for a strong female voice to speak for their perspective. They went beyond accepted female bounds to establish their periodicals, through which they cultivated a voice and, with *The Advocate*, extended the range of their influence to a national network of sister activists. *The Advocate* emanated from a local women's culture that was created within patriarchal society to speak for the true value of women. The message of *The Advocate* was feminist in its re-evaluation of women and its simultaneous debunking of the male myth that women's role was to service men sexually, at any cost to themselves.

It is of particular note that from the beginning reformers intended *The Advocate* as a female-staffed publication—and that within 30 years the production of the publication was entirely female. From organizing to editing, producing, and distributing, these women's expression of activism was the female moral reform periodical. *The Advocate* continued to build its local women's culture to increase its reliance on women at all levels of its production even after it was successfully repositioned as the national magazine. As a national women's journal that rose from a cohesive women's culture, *The Advocate* itself stands as a powerful symbol of

cultural transformation, a true advocate for women. The women succeeded in transforming their periodical into a wholly female endeavor and in that fulfilled the mission of their women's culture, while establishing early fair labor practices for women and engaging women in a meaningful national discourse. With women as the editorial and production staff as well as audience, the publication closed the circle and established a link in a cycle through which the values of this women's culture could be perpetuated, perhaps even across generations.

It is argued here that these women spoke as cultural feminists. Based on beliefs of sex difference and women's moral superiority, they urged social reform well outside their traditional purview by means of moral reform periodicals. The perspective of cultural feminism brings into focus the importance of the sisterhood that these periodicals established and an examination of the women's culture that made it possible. It enables a glimpse beneath the cloak of conservatism under which these "ladies" veiled themselves to see the activist duty they imposed on themselves and the sense of personal responsibility they encouraged others to accept.

Perhaps most important for the purposes of journalism history, this perspective enables a view of *The Advocate* as a manifestation of cultural transformation and the symbol of the larger accomplishments of these reformers. It is hoped that this study provides a theoretical framework on which to structure answers to journalism historian Henry's call for research and that it enables further research into the women's training cycle begun in the print shop of *The Advocate*. With *The Advocate* as the role model, 19th century women's moral reform periodicals were instrumental in defining the intellectual and activist tradition of cultural feminism in the United States.

Endnotes

[1]Lori D. Ginzberg, "'Moral Suasion Is Moral Balderdash': Women, Politics and the Social Activism of the 1850s" *Journal of American History*, 73 (1986):601.

[2]In this paper the publication is referred to simply as The Advocate. Begun as *The Advocate of Moral Reform*, the title was changed in 1847 to *The Advocate of Moral Reform and Family Guardian*; and in 1849, to *The Advocate and Family Guardian*, which it remained until ceasing publication in 1941. A Home for the Friendless was opened in July 1847, see Flora L. Northrup, *The Record of a Century, 1834-1934* (New York: American Female Guardian Society and Home for the Friendless, 1934), p. 30, which was incorporated into the society's title, the American Female Guardian Society and Home for the Friendless.

[3]Therese L. Lueck, "*The Advocate and Family Guardian*" in Kathleen L. Endres and Therese L. Lueck (eds.) *Women's Periodicals in the United States: Social and Political Issues* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1996), pp. [1]-11.

[4]Josephine Donovan, *Feminist Theory: The Intellectual Traditions of American Feminism*, re. ed. (New York: Continuum,1994), p. 214, n. 2.

[5]Alice Echols, "The New Feminism of Yin and Yang" in Ann Snitnow, Christine Stansell and Sharon Thomspson (eds.) *Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983), p. 454.

[6]Linda Alcoff, "Cultural Feminism versus Post-Structuralism: The Identity Crisis in Feminist Theory" in Linda Nicholson (ed.) *The Second Wave: A Reader in Feminist Theory* (New York: Routledge, 1997), p. 332.

[7]Alice Echols, "The Taming of the Id: Feminism and Sexual Politics, 1968-85" in Carole S. Vance (ed.) *Pleasure and Danger: Exploring Female Sexuality* (Boston: Routledge, 1984), p. 51.

[8]Donovan, p. 62.

[9]Echols, 1983, p. 455.

[10]Echols, 1984, p. 56.

[11]Jo Freeman, "From Suffrage to Women's Liberation: Feminism in 20th-Century America" in Jo Freeman (ed.) *Women: A Feminist Perspective*, 5th ed. (Mountain View, CA: Mayfield, 1994), p. 23.

[12]Barbara Berg, *The Remembered Gate: Origins of American Feminism: The Woman and the City, 1800-1860* (New York: Oxford University Press), 1978.

[13] Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860" in T.R. Frazier (ed.) *The Underside of American History: Other Readings* (New York: Harcourt, 1973), pp. 211-222.

[14]Mary P. Ryan, "The Power of Women's Networks: A Case Study of Female Moral Reform in Antebellum America" *Feminist Studies*, 5 (Spring 1979): 67.

[15]Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York: Knopf), 1985), p. 109.

[16]Donovan, p. 31.

[17]Smith-Rosenberg, p. 14.

[18]Donovan, p. 32.

[19]Berg, note 45, p. 291; pp. 4-5.

[20]The Seneca Falls, New York Convention is generally recognized as the beginning of the US women's rights movement.

[21]Smith-Rosenberg, p. 127.

[22]Susan Henry, "Changing Media History Through Women's History" in Pamela J. Creedon (ed.) *Women in Mass Communication*, 2nd. ed. (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1993), pp. 349, 350.

[23]Smith-Rosenberg, pp. 111-12.

[24]Smith-Rosenberg, p. 115.

[25]"Thirteenth Annual Report of the American Female Moral Reform Society" in *The Advocate of Moral Reform and Family Guardian* (1 June 1847), p. [81].

[26]*The Friend of Virtue* was begun in 1838, about one year after the New England Female Moral Reform Society was formed.

[27]"Twelfth Annual Report of the American Female Moral Reform Society" in *The Advocate of Moral Reform* (1 June 1846), p. [81].

[28]"Twenty-fifth Annual Report of the American Female Guardian Society and Home for the Friendless" in *The Advocate and Family Guardian* (1 June 1859), p. 167.

[29]In the Exodus text in common Protestant use, the Seventh Commandment is the commandment that warns against committing adultery.

[30]"For the Friend of Virtue: Conversation Between Georgiana and her Aunt" in *The Friend of Virtue* (1 February 1840), p. [33].

[31]L.W. Wright, "An Address Read Before the Maternal Association, Sullivan, N.H." in *The Friend of Virtue* (1 March 1840), p. [65].

[32][A venerable lady of this city], "To the Ex[ecutive] Com[mittee] of the N.E.F.M.R.S." in *The Friend of Virtue* (15 February 1840), p. 55.

[33]"The Friend of Virtue" [editorial], in *The Friend of Virtue* (1 July 1851), p. 197.

[34]Executive Committee of the American Female Reform Society, "Publisher's Box" in *The Advocate of Moral Reform* (1 January 1844), p. 1.

[35]Mrs. H. Newhall, "Abstract of Annual Reports" in *The Advocate of Moral Reform* (15 January 1844), p. 15.

[36]"Communicated" in *The Friend of Virtue* (1 July 1851), p. 197.

[37]"Anniversary Meeting" [editorial], in *The Friend of Virtue* (1 June 1847), p. 84.

[38]Editor, "The New Year" in *The Advocate and Family Guardian* (2 January 1865), p. 8; The Advocate noted that the society lost members with "the decided stand taken by the majority for the Union side," Northrup, p. 44.

[39]Editor, "Long Live the Republic!" in *The Advocate and Family Guardian* (16 May 1865), p. 116.

[40]Typical of female reform periodicals, *The Friend of Virtue* often began its articles with "ladies." On occasion, however, the magazine incorporated men into household and child-rearing recommendations with its appeals to "parents."

[41]H—S, "A Caution to Mothers" in *The Advocate of Moral Reform* (15 January 1844), p. 11.

[42]*Mother's Journal*, "Health" [reprint], in *The Friend of Virtue* (15 January 1840), p. 19.

[43]*Means and Ends* "Pure Air and Ventilation" [reprint], in *The Friend of Virtue* (15 February 1840), p. 51.

[44]"For the Friend of Virtue: 'For the Mothers'" in *The Friend of Virtue* (1 January 1850), p. 9.

[45]"The Training of Children" in *The Friend of Virtue* (1 January 1852), p. 10.

[46]A Plain Countrywoman, "Common Sense Comments" [letter to the editor] in *The Advocate of Moral Reform and Family Guardian* (1 December 1847), p. 179.

[47]H. Smith, "An Outrage" in *The Advocate of Moral Reform* (15 January 1844), p. 14; Editor, p. 15.

[48]"Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the American Female Guardian Society and Home for the Friendless" in *The Advocate and Family Guardian* (1 June 1860), p. 167.

[49]Northrup, p. 45.

[50]"Twenty-Fifth Annual Report of the American Female Guardian Society and Home for the Friendless" in *The Advocate and Family Guardian* (1 June 1859), p. 167.

[51]Ibid.

[52]"Twenty-Seventh Annual Report of the American Female Guardian Society and Home for the Friendless" in *The Advocate and Family Guardian* (1 June 1961), pp. 168-169.

[53]There was a slight decline in circulation in the post-war years; the 1868 annual report shows a circulation of 38,000, a drop of 3,000 from a peak of 41,000 in 1864.

[54]"Thirteenth Annual Report of the American Female Moral Reform Society" in *The Advocate of Moral Reform and Family Guardian* (1 June 1847), p. 81.

[55]"Twenty-Eighth Annual Report of the American Female Guardian Society" in *The Advocate and Guardian* (2 June 1862), p. 166.

[56]Ibid.

[57]Ibid.

[58]Ibid.

[59]Ibid.

[60]Northrup, pp. 78, 83; The society eventually became the Woodycrest Youth Service. See Jonathon W. Zophy, "Moral Reform" in Angela Howard Zophy (ed.) *Handbook of American Women's History* (New York: Garland, 1990), pp. 385-386.

[61]Other publications were not so fortunate. *The Friend of Virtue*, having changed its name to *The Home Guardian*, adopted a more upbeat tone than its earlier didacticism. Instructive fiction became a staple of the magazine. This publication's crusade against immorality branched out to embrace other types of social reform, in particular, intemperance. Its broadened mission and more popularized format pitting it against other works, the magazine met its demise in 1892.

Redefining Racism: Newspaper Justification for the 1924 Exclusion of Japanese Immigrants

By Bradley J. Hamm

This study integrates the "mentalities" concept from a classic historical racial study as a way to examine media framing of Japanese during debate about the Immigration Act of 1924. To better understand this century's coverage of Japanese and Asian Americans, it is essential to look at the dominant historical mentality, or mentalities, that existed among white newspapers which were central in framing the debate. The mentality method could be useful concerning historical coverage of other minorities and groups in the United States.

The message to the Japanese in California in the early 1920s was clear: "Keep out, Japs." The words were written in signs in California businesses and homes. Other signs, from San Francisco to Los Angeles, were just as challenging: "Swat the Japs," or "Are you pro-American or pro-Jap?," or "Japs, move on. California doesn't want you."[1]

As the United States has struggled in the 20th century with the questions of who to let in the country, from where and how many, the passage of the Immigration Act of 1924 was an early dramatic statement of immigration views.[2] The act served two main goals for the country: it relied upon a formula designed to restrict immigrants from Southern Europe, and the act formally banned all Japanese immigration.

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Newspaper editorials about the Immigration Act offer an opportunity to determine whether there were common and distinct press "mentalities" about the Japanese that were used to justify the ban and how these mentalities were communicated to the mass audience. The Immigration Act was clearly designed to limit certain races, rather than just control immigration numbers. Historian Joel Williamson, in a much acclaimed history of black—white race relations, defines mentalities as ". . . an intellectual atmosphere of a distinctive, clearly identifiable quality. It is derived from the broad society, touches a large number of individual minds, and flows and changes over time influencing behavior and being influenced by behavior, and by the physical world. It is in part emotional, and it does compel action."[3]

Williamson Defines Three Mentalities

Are there mentalities evident in the press that can both reflect societal views and influence attitudes and behavior toward the Japanese? Williamson identified three distinct mentalities that developed in the mind of the white South about African Americans, particularly the slaves, before the Civil War: liberal, conservative and radical. The liberal view felt African Americans had not been given a fair chance, and liberals showed both a willingness to help and a faith in the future for African Americans. The conservative mentality was based on the assumption of racial inferiority, and the future of race relations was about determining the "proper place" for African Americans. The most extreme mentality, radicalism, envisioned the freed slaves "retrogressing rapidly toward his natural state of savagery and bestiality."[4] Radicals believed there was no place for African Americans in the future United States.[5]

Once formed, these mentalities, Williamson argues, live on through the 20th century and help explain underlying racial views that are evident throughout the South in the 1900s, especially during flash points, such as the Klan uprising or school integration. This study, limited to the Immigration Act of 1924, attempts to examine possible mentalities that surface in newspaper editorials during another racial flash point, the debate to ban Japanese immigration.

The emphasis on the Japanese and this time period, the 1920s, is lacking in mass communication research, although as this study suggests, newspapers concentrated almost exclusively on the Japanese situation during the immigration debate in 1924. Few studies have dealt with Asian Americans and mass media in general.[6] Among those examining history, the primary time studied is World War II. The most complete summary of historical research about Japanese and mass communication, by media historian Thomas Heuterman,[7] includes one cite for the 1920s: this study,

as a paper presentation in 1995. One communications study of 1920s immigration and press coverage barely mentions Japanese immigration at all, concentrating on the plight of Europeans.[8]

This study attempts to explore three central questions by using editorials about the Immigration Act of 1924 from seven newspapers. First, did newspapers support or oppose Japanese emigration to the United States, and why? How was the issue framed for readers? Second, from these editorials, were there specific racial "mentalities" that can be identified in the way white-owned newspapers felt about the Japanese, or Asians in general, similar to what Williamson found white Southerners generated about African Americans? And, of importance for considering coverage of the Japanese in later years, does there appear to be, according to editorials, a relatively equal place (liberal mentality), a "proper" place (conservative mentality), or no place (radical mentality) for Japanese immigrants in the future United States society, as expressed by the newspapers?

In the early 1900s, immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe poured into New York, Japanese immigrants moved to the West Coast (especially California) and African Americans from the South migrated to the North and West. For African Americans, "This migration expanded the realities of racial inequality beyond the Deep South and into the North and the West Coast," wrote media historian Rodger Streitmatter.[9] For the Japanese, the racial inequality—most strongly felt along the West Coast—was about to be written into national law.

The Japanese would find very little support from these United States newspapers. Instead, editorialists exhibited "mentalities" toward the Japanese unlike the ones identified by Williamson in black-white relations. In addition, one mentality reflects an unusual racial view in United States history: the Japanese should be banned because they were equal, or even superior, to the white race in terms of economics and ability to work hard. Thus, the Japanese were considered both superior and inferior.

Substantial Newpaper Editorial Coverage

This sample and study includes all editorials about the immigration act from six daily newspapers—*The New York Times*, the *New York Herald Tribune*, the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, the *San Francisco Examiner*, the *Louisville Courier-Journal*— and the nation's leading African American weekly newspaper, the *Chicago Defender*, during the congressional debate from the months of April and May 1924. All but one of the dailies supported exclusion of the Japanese. Only the *Courier-Journal* was opposed; it supported allowing Japanese immigration at the

same quota level as European nations. The weekly Defender also opposed the ban.

The New York papers were chosen because the city was the entry point for most immigrants during this period. The San Francisco papers were chosen because many Asian immigrants also came into the country through this city. The two cities' papers were well aware of the daily flood of immigrants. Chicago and Louisville were selected to provide viewpoints from a distance, because they were less affected than New York City and San Francisco, which were dealing with the boat loads of new immigrants; they were on opposite sides politically, with the *Daily Tribune* being conservative and the *Courier-Journal* being liberal; and, since the Immigration Act was about race, the *Courier-Journal* was an early and important voice in support of civil rights for African Americans in the South. Thus, they should offer distinct views.

Would Louisville view the Japanese plight in California in a similar way to the Southern racial problems? Likewise, the *Defender* was included to consider the views of one of the most prominent African American newspapers in United States journalism history. A study of the *Defender*'s reaction offers a diverse viewpoint and depth to the racial issue facing the Japanese, a perspective that might be lacking in the white daily newspapers.

Newspaper editorial coverage of the Immigration Act was substantial—nearly 60 editorials over about 30 days in April and May 1924 surrounding the immigration discussion in Congress. This study covers the time period for the discussion—mid-April to mid-May—and two weeks before and after. The immigration ban was front-page news starting April 12, when the House voted 322 to 71 to ban Japanese immigrants. Nearly all the editorials occur after the vote, not before. The *Tribune*, for example, ran editorials on the topic nine consecutive days after the House vote, and the *Times* averaged about one editorial every two days for nearly a month.

The main arguments in 1924 immigration are discussed here, along with how the newspapers viewed the debate. The United States was doing to Japan what Japan was doing to others, including the United States. The United States excluded Japanese; the Japanese excluded Koreans and Chinese. Californians did not allow aliens to own land; neither did Japan. And, the *San Francisco Chronicle* argued, United States citizens were allowed in Japan only because "we compelled the Japanese to admit us by sending Commodore [Matthew] Perry to shoot up their coast towns [in 1854] if they did not admit us."[10]

All countries were affected by quotas under the Immigration Act of 1924, but the hardest hit, in exclusion and wounded national pride, was

Japan. Japan's case accounted for almost 100 percent of editorials in the seven newspapers. "The [immigration] problem is one of the gravest which the country has faced in many years," said *The New York Times* shortly before the congressional debates in April 1924.[11] The *San Francisco Examiner* said passage of the immigration bill represented California's most significant victory since achieving statehood.[12] The views of many of the newspapers can be summarized through a letter by publisher William Randolph Hearst to his editor at the *San Francisco Examiner*. "We do not want in this country the demoralizing competition of low Oriental labor conditions, poor standards of living, and contaminating Oriental morals," he wrote. "This is not race prejudice. It is race preservation."[13]

Majority of Japanese Immigrants Lived in California

When the United States annexed Hawaii in 1898, Japanese laborers, who made up about two-thirds of Hawaii's work force, began to move to California for better wages. President Theodore Roosevelt responded by signing an order in March 1907 prohibiting aliens, mainly Japanese, who had passports to go to Hawaii (and Mexico and Canada) from settling on the mainland United States.[14] Both countries negotiated other points, and the action became known as the "Gentlemen's Agreement" of 1907-8.[15]

The agreement determined Japanese immigration until the 1920s. Laborers were allowed to bring wives from Japan or Hawaii.[16] Some men sent pictures of themselves to Japan, or received pictures of women, for marriage partners. Women who arrived to meet their husbands for the first time were known as "picture brides." Some United States citizens believed the practice to be immoral, and Japan discontinued it in 1920, allowing only marriages with men who returned to Japan for at least 30 days to find wives.[17]

From 1890 to 1920, the number of Japanese soared from 2,039 to 111,010 on the mainland. About two-thirds lived in California.[18] These first-generation Japanese settlers, known as "issei," were not eligible for citizenship for several reasons.[19] Their children, known as "nisei," or second-generation Japanese, were US citizens by birth.

Most Japanese farmed land considered worthless by other Californians. By 1920, their farms produced ten percent of California's crops.[20] California responded in 1920 with an amended Alien Land Law. The original law, in 1913, prohibited aliens or companies with a majority of Japanese stockholders from owning, selling, or bequeathing agricultural land to another immigrant. Agricultural needs for World War I and a loophole (their children born in the states were not immigrants, so Japanese land owners could give the land to their children) reduced the

law's effect. The loophole was closed in 1920, and the US Supreme Court gave its approval in November 1923 after appeals.[21] Japanese laborers lost their land and their economic foundation.

Next, many Californians pushed to block all Japanese immigration. In early 1924, bills in Congress proposed severely limiting immigration from Europe and banning completely any immigration from Japan. Other Asians had been banned in previous years (in 1882 Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act[22]) but the Japanese believed they had a different, better relationship with the United States government as evidenced by the Gentlemen's Agreement. They learned otherwise.

Japan reacted in anger to an immigration ban that it perceived as a national insult. July 1, the day the bill was enacted, was declared "National Humiliation Day."[23] The period after the enactment of the Immigration Act was filled with tension that "bordered on a war scare."[24]

Newspaper's View: A Superior/Inferior Mentality?

Five of six daily newspapers in this study wanted Japanese immigrants barred, but they found positive ways to frame the exclusion. Editorial writers framed the debate around four main themes: race, economy, national security and political decency. Three themes were essential to the act: possible racial and cultural mixing between whites and Asians, the economic impact of Japanese workers, and national security. The fourth area was about the manner in which Japan was excluded, rather than the exclusion itself.

In their editorials, newspapers could have supported the Immigration Act in its entirety; supported the Act but argued against exclusion of Japanese; or opposed the whole Act. The *Louisville Courier-Journal* was the only daily newspaper to argue against Japanese exclusion, and it did so on diplomatic grounds. While it supported the rest of the immigration bill, the newspaper said the United States should not break its Gentlemen's Agreement with Japan.

Newspapers denied that racism was an issue in the passage of the bill; they cited economic reasons to exclude the Japanese. The Japanese had reason to believe otherwise. The 1924 Act allowed for immigration at a two percent quota for non-Asians; each country was allowed an immigration level of two percent of the foreign born individuals in the United States in 1890.[25] If the two percent quota had been extended to Japan as it was to all European countries, only about 146 Japanese immigrants a year would have been admitted to the United States—hardly a grave threat to the US economy. This study shows that racism was indeed significant in newspaper arguments against the Japanese. The ways in which

the racism was presented reflect the 1920s "mentalities" of the newspapers toward the Asian race in general and the Japanese in particular.

Mentality 1: The Asian As Incompatible Alien

Again and again, the newspapers denied racism was an issue in excluding Japanese. Racism, according to James M. Jones in *Prejudice and Racism*, builds on negative-attitude view of prejudice and also includes three other criteria: race as a biological concept, the superiority of one's own race, and institutional and cultural practices that formalize the domination of one racial group over another.[26] The newspapers argued that superiority was not an issue:

- "This does not imply that it adheres to silly notions of 'superior' or 'inferior' races or believes that persons with blue eyes are better Americans than those with black," said the *Times*.[27]
- "There is no valid question of superiority or inferiority," said the *Tribune*.[28]
- "It is not because we consider the Japanese an 'inferior' race, as the Japanese should fully understand," said the *Chronicle*.[29]
- "If they want a certificate of excellence, why, we can go before a notary public and have one made out: we can give them a certificate of intellectual, moral and artistic equality," said the *Examiner*.[30]

And yet . . . There are differences, the newspapers added.

The *Times* said: "This objection, it cannot be sufficiently emphasized, does not rest on any imagined superiority of the white race, but solely on the incompatibility of the different racial standards."[31] A compromise could be reached easily because Japan "recognizes that the two races cannot mix."[32]

The *Chicago Daily Tribune* said: "We insist merely that there are differences which not only bar Japanese immigrants from American citizenship but prevent social amalgamation."[33] (The *Tribune* was alone among daily newspapers in referring to the Japanese in terms such as "a great little people"[34] and "wonderful little people."[35] The *Defender* did refer to the Japanese as "yellow people" in its editorials.)

The *Chronicle* said:

> We do not want them and will not have them because they are so different that they do not assimilate; because they settle in colonies from which our own people move away because the social atmosphere is destroyed; because their standard of living, being lower than ours, they undersell our people whenever it is necessary; because the Japanese government holds immigrants and their descendants forever as Japanese subjects; because they are so much more prolific than we that without restriction in a few generations they will possess our land.[36]

While no racism is involved, said the *Chronicle*, "if such aliens are allowed to enter they will come in numbers so large as to produce social and economic conditions which are unjust to ourselves and are sure to result in real race hatreds and domestic disturbances leading to international feeling which will be really 'grave'."[37]

Though the *Herald Tribune* noted "a magnificent bonfire" of racial hatred attributable to the Senate,[38] it argued the debate was not about a racial question. Guests were allowed from Japan, thus refuting any notion of racism.[39] The immigration bill did not exclude visitors such as students, professors, and ministers. In short, because, the *Tribune* argued, the Japanese could visit but not stay, which was proof of no racism.[40] It was, rather, a policy decision. "[A quota system] would admit less than 250 [Japanese] immigrants a year, but it would run counter to the settled policy of this country, founded on the principle of race separation, against admitting Orientals on the same terms as Europeans," the *Herald Tribune* said.[41]

Only the *Chicago Defender* claimed racism. "The color question got mixed up in the Japanese debate. Our white people are determined to make this a 'white' country."[42] The newspaper ran an editorial cartoon with a California landowner tossing a brick, labeled "land shall be sold to Caucasians only." The brick was shown bouncing off the head of a Japanese man and striking the head of an African American man. The caption for the cartoon said, "Perhaps it wasn't intended for us, but —."[43]

White Versus "Yellow People"

Race determined the outcome of the exclusion ban, said the *Defender*: "[Japan] rose as a yellow people. As soon as it got up it wanted to be 'white.' No, said your Supreme Court; no, we wish you well but we have our hands full trying to settle who is white, and who is not white, in

the USA."[44] The United States had "chronic colorphobia," according to the newspaper. The *Defender* said whites in the United States wanted to take a slap at the Japanese, "the most powerful of the darker races," to prove white supremacy.[45]

The New York Times challenged, early and often, the notion of a Nordic superior race and the implications upon United States immigration policy. The *Times* suggested standards to be met by future immigrants that would move beyond racial qualities. "The test of the would-be immigrant is, not has he blue eyes and flaxen hair, but will he make a good citizen, will he adapt himself easily and willingly to American life, will he contribute to the strength of the American nation and the American race?"[46]

Despite this talk against a Nordic superior race, the Times advocated that an immigration policy was more like a science experiment. It was both natural and wise to not change the "present blend" much, the newspaper said. The *Times* endorsed a proposal to determine the present racial composition in the United States and to "seek to preserve the existing proportion of those races which contributed to the present fusion." The result, according to the *Times*, was no discrimination against particular races or groups. "This is as it should be," it said.[47]

Even the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, which was the only daily newspaper to speak against Japanese exclusion, said the bill favored those who furnished the best class of citizens. The editorial offered a lengthy quotation by a University of Virginia doctor which claimed the United States had done everything possible since 1875 to ensure racial decay.[48]

Perhaps the most unusual argument was made by the *San Francisco Examiner*. Its editorial on May 1, 1924 was headlined "Exclude Prejudice from US Immigration Policy!" So, was the *Examiner* speaking in favor of Asians? Not at all. Saying that "unassimilable races, and unassimilable people, generally, must be barred from the United States," the newspaper argued that there should be no "artificial" discrimination or prejudice among "the various peoples of our own color and blood."[49] Since the Immigration Act discriminated among whites from different countries, the *Examiner* called it the worst and silliest measure on immigration ever devised." Of course, most of these European immigrants were entering on the East Coast, so San Francisco was much less affected.

In a related editorial, the *Examiner* said: "For our nation to stand, on its statute books, committed to so fantastic a theory of discrimination between neighboring peoples of Caucasian blood and proven ability, would be both hurtful and foolish."[50] To stand on its statute books on a theory of discrimination against Asians was acceptable to the newspaper. The Japanese were portrayed as incompatible aliens. This theme was the most dominant among all of the editorials.

Mentality 2: The Asian As Overachiever

The second area is unusual in terms of racism studies: not only were the Japanese presented as worse than white immigrants or citizens (which is an emphasis of most racism, the degradation of another race) but editorial writers offered great praise for the work ethic of the Japanese. In short, the Japanese should be banned because they were both worse and better than whites.

Why should the Japanese be excluded while Europeans would not be? They work too hard, the *Chicago Daily Tribune* argued. Thus, this Act should not insult Japan; exclusion was a compliment, a tribute of respect. It was an economic white flag to Japan, saying that men in the United States could not compete on the same level as Japanese men. After all, the Japanese had taken land that was abandoned or deemed worthless by California farmers, and they turned it into highly productive, profitable farms. "Their industry, ability, and thrift have put many American farmers and small tradesmen out of business," the *Tribune* said.[51]

The Japanese worker labored longer hours and spent less on himself, especially if he did not have a wife and children, the *Tribune* said. He saves the money to buy more land and supplies, then works even harder. "Industry, self-control, economy in expenditure are all virtues which we respect," the newspaper said.[52] Still, United States citizens had a different, higher standard of living, the newspaper said. They had families to support at this higher standard.

The New York Times shared a similar view: "Whatever element of 'inferiority' may be found, when it is considered in terms of economics, rests on the side of the whites rather than of the Asiatic races." The *Times* noted the principal objections were of the Japanese working harder, living more simply and getting ahead through diligence.[53] The ban of laborers was not enough, the *San Francisco Chronicle* said. No more Japanese women should be allowed in because wives were economic threats, too. "Japanese brides are far more objectionable immigrants than Japanese men. They work in the field like men and their coming means several Japanese citizens per bride, who can be landowners because [they are] born in this country and who can still live in colonies, leading the dual life of American citizens and Japanese subjects."[54]

The editorial added that extra ships were needed for the thousands of Japanese women heading to the United States before the exclusion's July 1, 1924 deadline. The solution for Japanese men seeking wives? Leave the country, the *Chronicle* advised. "If Japanese lawful residents in this country wish to marry they should move back to Japan. Let us do a disagreeable but necessary job in the pleasantest way possible."[55]

If most newspapers studied used racist thinking to denounce the perceived moral differences between United States citizens and the Japanese, they added an unusual twist. Rarely do racists portray the other group to be superior, especially in important areas for personal or group pride such as hard work or diligence. They were not getting ahead by cheating, or by doing less; the Japanese men and women worked hard, were thrifty, practiced self-control and taught these traits to their children, according to the newspapers. Therefore, they should be stopped.

Mentality 3: The Asian As Loyal Invader

One other theme about the Japanese immigrants is threaded through the editorials. Newspapers suggested that the rapidly growing number of Japanese in California signaled an invasion of sorts; the immigrants could establish a peacetime foothold on the West Coast.

After a national columnist for the Hearst newspapers referred to "the Japanese empire with its tens of millions of intelligent, determined fighters,"[56] the *Chronicle* complained about colonies of Japanese workers in the United States or United States workers in Japan. This situation, the newspaper said, would result in "social clashes, which neither government could prevent drifting into international antagonisms, which would make impossible the cordial cooperation of the two nations."[57]

The "hard worker" argument in the *Tribune* moved quickly from economic superiority to a conquering mentality. The *Tribune* believed that to delay the immigration ban would be damaging for the future. "To go along year by year, with the exclusion issue always irritating our relations with Japan, but never inducing us to prepare for its defense, is to make war certain, and at the same time insure that it will be fought by us at the greatest possible disadvantage."[58]

The disagreement must be faced head-on, the *Tribune* argued, rather than allowed to simmer constantly. "If the Japanese either cannot or will not respect our right to exclude whom we please from our household, an issue is forced upon us from which we will not and cannot recede, even though our position means war."[59] Without the Act, the West would become an Asiatic colony.[60] If war with Japan did come because of the Exclusion Act, it would be a war for the United States worker, "a people's conflict without qualification."[61]

The Japanese were portrayed in the editorials as incompatible aliens, as overachieving hard workers, and loyal invaders. For these reasons, they deserved to be banned. But they did not deserve to be embarrassed, the newspapers said. And Congress, according to the editorial writers, acted terribly and brought shame to both countries.

The *Times* suggested the actions by United States lawmakers could lead to future conflict. Their speeches and action against Japan were certain to intensify hatred by the Japanese. "The Senate cast responsibility to the winds and showed itself willing to sow the seeds of future wars in order to rebuke a fancied present threat. Such bull-in-the-shop tactics are as disconcerting to Americans as to foreigners."[62]

The US Secretary of State, Charles Evans Hughes, had opposed the exclusion bill. While Congress was debating the bill, Hughes asked Masanao Hanihara, Japanese ambassador to the United States, to write a letter explaining Japan's position and its views about the present Gentlemen's Agreement. The letter was relayed by Hughes to the Senate. In an example of diplomacy gone terribly awry, the letter was used against Japan to rally both public and congressional opposition.

In the letter, Hanihara discussed many items, including the observation that Japan was most interested in the same respect and consideration as other nations. "In a most friendly spirit," Hanihara added that "grave consequences" could result from the Act in regard to relations between the two countries.[63] Supporters of the bill argued that Japan was trying to bully its way toward favorable legislation.

The Senate and House responded swiftly. The bills were approved within a few days by overwhelming margins. The whole scene was an embarrassment, the newspapers said. "The United States is surely above the childishness of answering such imagined provocation out of pure spite by the gravest legislation," said the *Herald Tribune*.[64] "The Senate's passion is about on a level with the rage of a group of college sophomores bent on a hazing bee in retaliation for some fancied disrespect on the part of a freshman. Doubtless the United States is in a position to affront Japan or any other nation of a smaller stature; but the bully does not cut a pleasing figure among men or nations."

Following 1923's earthquake in Tokyo, the Exclusion Act was an emotional earthquake for Japan, the *Herald Tribune* said. The ban could be accomplished through a revision of the Gentlemen's Agreement, rather than the very public Immigration Act. "[The Senate] should strike out the obnoxious provision that humiliates Japan. It is a wretched exhibition of jingoism."[65]

The New York Times called the quick votes "hasty and intemperate" action. The legislative work was "unwisdom by the House . . . that was not corrected by the Senate."[66] The *Times* said that one Easter hope was that the Department of State and the Japanese government would meet to compromise with the least possible harm to both sides — or even that the

president would veto the bill.[67] Still, the *Times* wasn't against the exclusion ban, though at the beginning of the debate its editorials appeared to favor some consideration of Japan's position. By the time the bill was settled, the newspaper asked only for a kinder way to deal with the problem.[68]

Anti-Japanese Sentiment Was Widespread

This study, covering one of the most significant laws in immigration history, shows that five of six selected daily newspapers opposed any admission of Japanese under the 1924 Act—not 10,000 Japanese, or 100 Japanese, or one. The Japanese should not be covered by the two percent quota that applied to most other countries, said each daily newspaper except the Louisville Courier-Journal. The Japanese might dilute the Nordic strain; they were unassimilable. This view was held not just in San Francisco, where white citizens were interacting with Japanese, but also in New York and Chicago.

Editorial writers exhibited racism toward the Japanese, but where the conservative mentality in the South believed in the African American's inferiority and the radical mentality thought of the African American as a savage, a dangerous beast or criminal, editorial writers did not frame the Japanese or Asians in similar ways. It would have been nearly impossible in United States society for white newspapers to argue that African Americans in the 1920s worked much too hard, as the *Tribune* did, or that they worked harder, lived more simply and got ahead through diligence, as the *Times* argued. Nor would most white newspapers in this era have offered to give African Americans a certificate of intellectual, moral and artistic equality, as the *Examiner* offered to give to the Japanese.

Editorial writers at white newspapers used a different racial mentality toward Asians than those used by Southern whites against African Americans. They viewed the Japanese as Incompatible Aliens, Hard Workers, Loyal Invaders. In many ways, these United States newspapers declared the Japanese to be both superior and inferior. Oddly, the Japanese have been described as having a similar superior/inferior attitude toward the United States. The term for this is "gaijin complex."[69] The mentality exhibited by these newspapers was not liberal, conservative or radical—instead, it was a *gaijin complex*, a mentality where both superior and inferior attitudes are used to reach the same conclusion: ban the Japanese because whites in the United States do not want them in the country.

In 1924, these daily newspapers in their editorials could have been optimistic about a future of racial unity, of a melting pot that included Asians. While Williamson's three mentalities do not match the views toward the Japanese in this case, the future outcome or possibilities of

each mentality can be applied. The newspapers could have projected an equal place (liberal mentality), a "proper" place (conservative mentality), or no place (radical mentality) for Japanese immigrants in the future United States society. They chose no place.

Harsher Racist Attitudes Still a Danger

Not until four decades later were federal immigration laws liberalized. Even today, the existing 1924 mentality of newspapers toward Japanese and Asians appears in press coverage. In a 1994 article about "Covering the Invisible 'Model Minority' " William Wong cited a popular inflammatory phrase—"Asian invasion"—still used in 1990s coverage of articles dealing with Asian Americans.[70] "To the historian," wrote John Dower in *War Without Mercy*, " there is certainly a humorous side to the reincarnation of the Japanese 'superman' in a business suit four decades after he was first observed in military uniform in the skies of the Pacific," or even earlier, culminating in the 1920s legislation in California and the 1924 Immigration Act, as in this study.[71] "As the transition of Japan and the Western powers from war to peace demonstrated, the hard idioms have a soft underside; but by the same token, the softer idioms often conceal a hard and potentially devastating edge. . . . It is predictable that harsher racist attitudes reminiscent of the war years will again arise at times of heightened competition or disagreement."[72]

This study integrates the mentality concept from historical racial study as a way to examine historical media framing of Japanese, but the mentality method could be useful concerning historical coverage of other minorities and groups in the United States. To better understand the coverage in this century of Japanese and Asian Americans, it is essential to look at the dominant historical mentality or mentalities that existed among white newspapers which were essential in framing the debate. Those mentalities were different from the mentalities of Southern whites about African Americans. These mentalities were developed long before World War II and were essential in the way Asians, and particularly the Japanese, were framed.

Endnotes

[1]Edward Doherty, "A California 'Close-up' of the Japanese," 18 April 1924, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 1:7.

[2]Administrative Procedure Act: Statutes at Large, 43, 153 (1924).

[3]Joel Williamson, *A Rage for Order: Black-White Relations in the American South Since Emancipation*,

New York: Oxford University Press, 1986, 70.

[4]Ibid, 71.

[5]Ibid, 72.

[6]Virginia Mansfield-Richardson, "Asian Americans and Mass Communication in the United States: A Wake-up Call. Paper presented at the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication Annual Conference, Washington, D.C., August 1995.

[7]Thomas H. Heuterman, "The Japanese Americans," in *U.S. News Coverage of Racial Minorities: A Sourcebook, 1934-1996*, Beverly Ann Deepe Keever, Carolyn Martindale and Mary Ann Weston, eds. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1997), 216-248. For further study of Japanese in this time period, see Heuterman's *The Burning Horse: The Japanese-American Experience in the Yakima Valley 1920-1942* (Cheney: Eastern Washington University Press, 1995).

[8]Marion Marzolf, "Americanizing the Melting Pot: The Media as a Megaphone for the Restrictionists," in *Mass Media Between the Wars: Perceptions of Cultural Tension, 1918-1941*, Catherine L. Covert and John D. Stevens, eds. (Syracuse University Press, 1984), 107-125.

[9]Rodger Streitmatter, "The Media and Racial Equality," in *The Significance of the Media in American History*, James D. Startt and Wm. David Sloan, eds. (Northport, Alabama: Vision Press, 1994), 264.

[10]"Let Reason Prevail," 16 April 1924, *San Francisco Chronicle*, 26:2.

[11]"'Supermen' and Immigration," 10 April 1924, *The New York Times*, 22:4. In *The Ambivalent Welcome: Print Media, Public Opinion and Immigration*, authors Rita J. Simon and Susan H. Alexander (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1993) show that United States magazines and The New York Times seldom supported immigrant causes from 1880 to 1990. In a review of the book J. Herbert Altschull of Johns Hopkins University said, "It is healthy for Americans, journalists in particular, to pause every now and then to examine the warts in our history and remember that our record of treatment of the downtrodden offers little ground for boasting." J. Herbert Altschull, "Book Reviews," *Journalism History* 19:4 (Winter 1994), 140. Simon and Alexander's study was a sampling of articles in magazines and the Times.

[12]"Nation Learns to Heed Voice of California," 17 April 1924, *San Francisco Examiner*, 5B:1.

[13]William Randolph Hearst, "Japanese Exclusion Vital to US, Says Mr. Hearst," 15 April 1924, *San Francisco Examiner*, 6B:1. For a later period, no West Coast newspapers (of 27 studied) supported the Japanese during the internment period in World War II. See Lloyd Chiasson, "The Japanese-American Encampment: an Editorial Analysis of 27 West Coast Newspapers," *Newspaper Research Journal* 12 (2): 92-107.

[14]Immigration Act of 20 February 1907, Administrative Procedure Act: Statues at Large 34, 898 (1907).

[15]The Gentlemen's Agreement consisted of telegrams, cables and other communications, rather than a statute. Bill Ong Hing, *Making and Remaking Asian America Through Immigration Policy, 1850-1990* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), 254.

[16]The agreement was to end the immigration of laborers. Passports still could be — and were — issued to parents, wives, and children of residents. Also, others such as former residents, merchants, students, diplomats and tourists could receive passports.

[17]Hing, 55.

[18]Akemi Kikumura, *Issei Pioneers: Hawaii and the Mainland, 1885 to 1924* (Los Angeles: Japanese American National Museum, 1992), 37-38. For a comparison, about 15 million Europeans emigrated to the United States from 1900 to 1924. Bill Hosokawa, *Nisei: The Quiet Americans*, New York: WIlliam Morrow and Company, 1969), 94.

[19]The Japanese government did not allow its citizens to become citizens of other countries. In addition, the US Congress in 1790 had given naturalization rights to free white persons residing in the United States for two years. After the Civil War, African Americans were included. However, Asians were denied naturalization rights in the Naturalization Act of 1870.

[20]Kikumura, 49.

[21]Webb v. O'Brien, 263 US 313 (1923). The alien land laws were not declared unconstitutional based on racial discrimination until Masaoka v. California, 39 Cal. 2d 883 (1952) and Fujii v. California, 38 Cal. 2d 718 (1952). In Hing, 60. The US Supreme Court was not supportive of the Japanese immigration efforts during this time; it later ruled in 1925 that the Japanese, Asian Indians

and Filipinos were not free white persons eligible for naturalization. Toyota v. United States, 268 U.S. 402 (1925).

[22]Administrative Procedure Act: Statutes at Large 22, 58 (6 May 1882).

[23]Yuji Ichioka, *The Issei: The World of the First Generation Japanese Immigrants, 1885-1924* (New York: The Free Press, 1988), 247.

[24]Sadao Asada, *Japan and the United States, 1915-25* (Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms, 1963), 390.

[25]The debate over which census to use became a significant point in the law. If lawmakers chose the 1890 census, then western and northern European immigrants would be rewarded with higher numbers. If lawmakers chose the more recent 1920 census, the number of eastern and southern European immigrants would increase because of the great immigration during and after World War I. Lawmakers chose to follow the 1890 census.

[26]James M. Jones, *Prejudice and Racism*, 2nd ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1997), 11.

[27]"Preserving the American Race," 5 April 1924, *The New York Times*, 14:3.

[28]"Japanese Penetration in Hawaii," 15 April 1924, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 8:2.

[29]"No Time to Stir Up Hatreds," 15 April 1924, *San Francisco Chronicle*, 24:2.

[30]"Let Congress act today on Japanese exclusion bill," 12 May 1924, *San Francisco Examiner*, 6B:1.

[31]"Asiatics in America," 27 April 1924, *The New York Times*, 6:2.

[32]"Finding a Way Out," 29 April 1924, *The New York Times*, 16:3.

[33]"Japanese Penetration in Hawaii," 15 April 1924, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 8:2.

[34]"A Japanese Boycott," 25 April 1924, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 8:2.

[35]"Think It Over," 4 May 1924, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 8:1.

[36]"No Time to Stir Up Hatreds," 15 April 1924, *San Francisco Chronicle*, 24:2. After such a critical commentary, the *Chronicle* then suggested the debate must "stop, in heaven's name, without one disagreeable word on either side, and especially with only the kindest speech on our side." Then, after calling the Japanese both virile and competent, the *Chronicle* ended with, "What this poor world needs most is good nature. Let us contribute our share."

[37]"President for Exclusion," 5 May 1924, *San Francisco Chronicle*, 22:1. In this editorial, the newspaper offers an unusual view of what is expected in a democratic society. "It will not help matters to publicly discuss them. When the President officially informs Congress that a certain course is desirable in initiating an international policy in which he is in complete accord with Congress, that should be sufficient."

[38]"The California Lesson," 8 May 1924, *New York Herald Tribune*, 12:1.

[39]"Some friendlier Way," 30 April 1924, *New York Herald Tribune*, 10:1.

[40]*The New York Times* agreed with this view ("Asiatics in America," 27 April 1924, *The New York Times*, 6:2). Because the immigration standards did not exclude Asian visitors, the *Times* argued, there was no racism involved, only exclusion of workers "on account of difference of traditions and types of civilization."

[41]"The Gentlemanly Way," 13 April 1924, *New York Herald Tribune*, II 6:2.

[42]Roscoe Simmons, "The Week," 26 April 1924, *Chicago Defender*, II 1:2.

[43]"Perhaps It Wasn't Intended for Us, but —," 19 April 1924, *Chicago Defender*, 14:3.

[44]Simmons, 26 April 1924.

[45]"Stirring Up Race Hatreds," 3 May 1924, *Chicago Defender*, I 14:2.

[46]"'Supermen' and Immigration," 10 April 1924, *The New York Times*, 22:4.

[47]"Preserving the American Race," 5 April 1924, *The New York Times*, 14:3.

[48]"The Immigration Question," 8 April 1924, *Louisville Courier-Journal*, 6:2. The Louisville paper did not cover the issue much. It had a half-dozen editorials about the immigration act in nearly two months. The other daily newspapers had that many in less than ten days. The argument by biologist Dr. Ivey F. Lewis of the University of Virginia, as quoted in the *Courier-Journal*, was: "The citizen of tomorrow! Is there any problem facing our statesmen to compare in importance with this? Our country will be what it is tomorrow because of what it is today. We have undertaken the direction of human evolution. At the present moment we are bungling the job. What is happening in the United

States is insuring with tragic finality that the next generation will be less capable of bearing its burden than the present one. Since 1875 we have been doing nearly everything possible to insure racial decay. The falling birth rate has been accomplished among the better classes. Unrestricted immigration has diluted our stock with millions of unassimilated aliens."

[49]"Exclude Prejudice From US Immigration Policy," 1 May 1924, *San Francisco Examiner*, 1B:1.

[50]"Nation Needs Plenty of Desirable Immigration," 30 April 1924, *San Francisco Examiner*, 6B:1.

[51]"The Issue with Japan," 14 April 1924, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 8:2.

[52]"Insulting Japan," 18 April 1924, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 8:1.

[53]"Differing Standards," 24 April 1924, *The New York Times*, 18:2.

[54]"The Real Japanese Menace," 17 May 1924, *San Francisco Chronicle*, 26:1.

[55]"Co-operation Necessary," 10 May 1924, *San Francisco Chronicle*, 25:2.

[56]Arthur Brisbane, "Today," 6 April 1924, *San Francisco Examiner*, 1, 2.

[57]"Co-operation Necessary," 10 May 1924, *San Francisco Chronicle*, 25:2.

[58]"We Cannot Compromise a Sovereign Right," 16 April 1924, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 8:1.

[59]"We Cannot Compromise a Sovereign Right," 16 April 1924, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 8:1.

[60]"Japanese Penetration in Hawaii," 15 April 1924, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 8:2.

[61]"A People's Issue," 20 April 1924, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 8:1. The *Tribune* also argued, however, that Japan would be unlikely to attack the Philippines because "the Japanese do not like or thrive in tropical climates, any more than they like or thrive in severe northern climates. It is their chief, and perhaps their sole, physical weakness as a race." From "The Philippines, Japan and America," 17 April 1924, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 8:1.

[62]"As Congress Cools Off," 17 April 1924, *The New York Times*, 18:1.

[63]Hanihara to Hughes, 10 April 1924, Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1915-25 (Washington, D.C., 1924-39). In Asada, 390.

[64]"Spite Diplomacy," 16 April 1924, *New York Herald Tribune*, 14:1.

[65]"Uncalled-for Temper," 15 April 1924, *New York Herald Tribune*, 14:1.

[66]"Affronting Japan," 15 April 1924, *The New York Times*, 20:1.

[67]"A Black Friday," 20 April 1924, *The New York Times*, II 6:2.

[68]"The Real Japanese Question," 3 May 1924, *The New York Times*, 14:4.

[69]For a description of the "gaijin complex," see Robert C. Christopher, *The Japanese Mind: The Goliath Explained*, New York: Linden Press, 1983. *Gaijin* means foreigner in Japanese.

[70]William Wong, "Covering the Invisible 'Model Minority,'" *Media Studies Journal*, 8, 3 (Summer 1994), 49-61.

[71]John W. Dower, *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War*, New York: Pantheon Books, 1986, 312.

[72]Ibid, 312.

Project Chariot, Nuclear Zeal, Easy Journalism and the Fate of Eskimos

By John Merton Marrs

A federal government proposal to detonate up to five nuclear bombs in northwest Alaska was greeted in 1958 with routine news coverage in Alaska's two largest newspapers and in The New York Times. *The press coverage followed routine patterns, framed the proposal in progressive economic terms and favored government sources until after 1960, when articles that represented the Native Alaskan point of view and questioned the Natives' safety began to appear in alternative media. The same mainstream media tendencies that earlier produced coverage that ignored the Natives ultimately resulted in recognition of their cause and helped to prevent the project's completion.*

> The circumpolar arctic tundra is a unique environment on this planet, having no counterpart in the southern hemisphere. Not infrequently it is described as remote, desolate, barren, and climatically rigorous. Probably none of these adjectives is accurate, and possibly they are misleading.
> —*Committee on Environmental Studies for Project Chariot, 1966*[1]

Project Chariot, proposed publicly in 1958, was a plan to detonate five nuclear bombs to excavate a harbor in north west Alaska. The announcement of the plan by the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) began a four-year controversy that awakened Eskimos to their political interests and helped stimulate a national environmental movement. The controversy unfolded amid international cold war tensions and public anxiety over the prospects of nuclear war and

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the effects of radiation. Yet the issue unfolded slowly in the pages of the newspapers, even in Alaska.

The performance of the newspapers was marked by doing business as usual and by a reluctance to pay attention to the negative side of the issue until time and other media thrust the fuller issue into the newspapers' laps. This paper argues that this "lap effect" in the end served the cause of the marginalized Eskimo minority by recognizing the cause once it gained legitimacy, although the history of Project Chariot shows that this effect could have come too late in a controversy of less complexity and longevity.

The venue of controversy was a remote corner of the Arctic, a region of barren gravel beaches and tundra west of the mountains. Prime-time news had not dawned on television, and the vortex of the still-new public debate over atomic energy in the United States manifested in the pages of the daily newspapers and news magazines. This article analyzes the performance of daily newspapers in the unusual case of Project Chariot. How did the press respond to unusual news respecting people outside the mainstream? Did press coverage portray conflict so that more attention might be drawn to the issues, or was the Project Chariot proposal presented as conflict-free?

If coverage failed to uncover conflict in the beginning, did this change over time? Did any changes in press coverage occur after the Native cause was recognized in alternative publications outside of Alaska and after Native groups met to express their protest with one voice? How did press coverage work out regarding the legitimacy of the issues of Eskimo rights or environmental hazard? These questions may require suggesting answers to others, such as: How did the press use or rely on sources? What mode of operation characterized press performance? The concept of the "mainstream," defined as the Caucasian majority, capitalist-adherent population, is central to these considerations.

The author reviewed relevant literature in studies of conflict; of minority influence; of the inter-related media hypotheses known by the names of gatekeeping, source reliance and issue framing; of the economics and politics of hegemony; interviewed principal actors from the time; studied documents at the Department of Energy in Germantown, Maryland, and at the University of Alaska, Fairbanks; and analyzed all the articles about Project Chariot in the *Anchorage Daily Times*, the *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner* and *The New York Times* between June 1958 and August 1962.

This analysis focuses on key newspapers in a controversy that was the genesis of government environmental impact studies, the political organization of disparate Alaska villages and tribes, and Alaska Native

land claims. Project Chariot was an active proposal until August 1962, and remains controversial for the discovery in 1992 of radioactive material left behind as an experiment in nuclear waste erosion.[2] News articles and editorial commentaries from the newspapers have been coded paragraph by paragraph and analyzed quantitatively and qualitatively. The coverage of Project Chariot manifested 121 articles in the Fairbanks newspaper, 92 in the *Anchorage Times* and 16 in *The New York Times*. The latter was chosen for comparison as an industry standard and as an outside reference.[3]

Atomic Energy Commission Never Conceded Danger

The Atomic Energy Commission's initial announcement of an Alaska nuclear harbor experiment on June 8, 1958, attracted fleeting attention in Alaska and no singular, immediate notice in *The New York Times*. *The Anchorage Daily Times*, then Alaska's largest newspaper, printed the Associated Press (AP) story on page one; the *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner* ran the AP report on page three, and the *Anchorage Daily News*, then a poor, job-shop competitor of the *Times*, printed a United Press report on page one. No additional news stories appeared until July 15 when nuclear physicist Edward Teller and at least two colleagues made an impromptu tour of Juneau, Anchorage and Fairbanks to talk with reporters, politicians and community leaders. *The New York Times* first reported the experiment "between Cape Seppings and Cape Thompson" on page 9, July 20. "Project Chariot," as it would be named, appeared regularly in articles and editorials for the next 49 months in Alaska and *The New York Times*.

Those months can be viewed through the analogy of a foot race, subdivided into laps as follows: July 1958 through May 1960, June 1960 through May 1961, and from June 1961 to the end. During the first two years, Teller and the AEC faced some mainstream questions in press coverage about economic prospects, but the Eskimos and their environment were discussed only once—in a Fairbanks letter to the editor. During the next year, Teller left the program and the opposition showed signs of mounting a challenge. Finally, in the third lap, the challenges won a balance in coverage. One reality underlay the entire project: the government scientists' overweening interest in nuclear blasting and their coincident dismissal of the arguments of Eskimos and dissenters. The press, by and large, followed the leaders until late in the race.

The central question involved the government's consideration of environmental effects. Doubts concerned more than 500 Eskimos, the wild game they relied on in a harsh wilderness, and the effects that radioactive fallout might have on their lives.[4] The central conflict derived

from the AEC's inability to acknowledge risk, while repeatedly insisting that everything would be done to assure the experiment would hurt no one. In the end, the commission's action was as good as its promises, but the commission never conceded danger as a reality and documents suggest that the commission staff never wanted to give up. In the spring of 1962, the director of the Division of Peaceful Nuclear Explosives recommended the project's termination, but wrote as he did so that the experiment could still provide data on nuclear excavation and "the chance of . . . jeopardizing the lives of the local inhabitants . . . is exceedingly remote . . . . [The] uncertainties . . . can only be resolved by proceeding . . . ."[5]

The Project Chariot controversy was actually small amid major events from 1958 to 1962: the years of Sputnik, the first space flights by Soviets and by Americans, the Soviet capture of U2 spy plane pilot Francis Gary Powers, the construction of the Berlin Wall, the failed Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, and extensive nuclear testing that brought the world to the brink of nuclear war. In Alaska, Project Chariot never ranked in any of the year-end Top Ten lists of state news in the Anchorage or Fairbanks papers.

The public worried about nuclear war, and newspaper articles showed how to build backyard fallout shelters, but disagreement was widespread regarding radiation dangers. By 1960, Teller and a prominent adversary, Dr. Linus Pauling, were the living icons of the opposing arguments. Teller professed humanity's ability to control nuclear contamination and Pauling doubted it. Looking back on the debate, Sheldon Novick wrote in 1969 in "The Careless Atom" that nuclear testing "was probably the most massive (and unintentional) experiment in biology ever undertaken, and the results are just beginning to come in."[6]

Edward Teller Promoted Peaceful Uses

As though to rescue the world from nuclear nightmares, Dr. Teller (widely nicknamed "the father of the hydrogen bomb") stepped forward to promote Project Plowshare, a program designed to find peaceful uses for the nuclear sword. He was director of the University of California's Livermore Radiation Laboratory, which had proposed the Plowshare program and which the AEC had charged with the program's direction. Teller and the AEC envisioned digging harbors and canals (including a new Panama canal), mining water resources and generating electricity with nuclear explosions. In theory, money could be saved because nuclear power could move much more earth per dollar than dynamite.[7] Teller went to Juneau to herald the first beneficial application of nuclear power under the rubric of Plowshare. He boasted of moving mountains ("just

drop us a card") and later averred that atomic power's first victims, the Japanese, could be the first major beneficiaries of the peaceful application of nuclear explosion technology.[8] The first step was to be a harbor at Cape Thompson.

Eskimos Overlooked in Early Planning

Teller's plan to rescue Alaska's frozen north from its stereotypically useless status as barren waste was a dream of the mainstream culture. The other side of the story centers on the 5,000-year-old Eskimo culture of Point Hope, Alaska, where Native hunters in the fall of 1958 were surprised to find AEC workers in the Ogotoruk Valley. The AEC had not bothered to notify the inhabitants of villages so far away, yet so near.[9]

Here lay the crux of the problem. The 300 Eskimo citizens of Point Hope, who lived 32 miles north of ground zero, were of such little account in the thought of the majority culture, as represented by government agents and the press, that they were simply not considered in the project's first-stage work. The Eskimos had thrived in the Arctic environment for centuries, but their subsistence lifestyle was alien to the mainstream. Teller told the press the government had looked all over the world for the best site, yet this search was actually paperwork, compiled by a consulting firm without setting foot in northwest Alaska.[10]

Project Chariot drew no opposition in the villages at first. Some Natives gained part-time field work with AEC. Point Hope had been in regular contact with white people for more than 100 years, and the village included an Episcopal church. Point Hope's economy was not 100 percent subsistence. A number of the village men had served in the armed forces and many worked summer jobs in Fairbanks to earn money for housing materials, heating oils, flour and hunting materials for whaling and for shooting caribou.[11]

The Eskimos were not party to the public debate through 1958 and early 1959 over the harbor proposed in their hunting area. The debate, such as it was, occurred in the mainstream press and in the meetings of chambers of commerce over whether Alaska would benefit economically from a harbor on the Chukchi Sea coast. Teller and others envisioned the Eskimos as new-age coal miners. But on June 26, 1959, the *Anchorage Times* reported that Teller conceded during a press conference that there was no foreseeable economic value for a Cape Thompson harbor. The cape was icebound eight or nine months of the year, and mineral deposits were not in fact close enough to be transported to the site except at great expense.[12]

The *Daily News-Miner* buried this resolution of the great economic debate in a continuation on an inside page four days later. The scientists

still hoped to test their hypotheses about nuclear excavation and pressed on with a public relations campaign aimed at winning over Alaskans. The project was downsized—from 2.4 megatons to 460 kilotons.[13] Livermore and AEC scientists said the hole could still be used if anyone wanted to pay for harbor improvements, and the notion of a harbor persisted to the very end when the final AEC press release described Project Chariot as "a small scale harbor."[14]

Over months doubts emerged in Point Hope. A geographer, Don Charles Foote, hired from McGill University by AEC, became troubled by likely effects on the Eskimos. Other scientists from the University of Alaska developed doubts, notably botanist Leslie Viereck, who on December 29, 1960, resigned from the project, effectively accusing the AEC of lying about research findings. He became president of the Alaska Conservation Society and later campaigned publicly against the project.[15]

Point Hope's Episcopal minister, Keith Lawton, joined the doubters, as did two New Hampshire businessmen, Joe Haddock, who visited Point Hope in the summer of 1960, and his friend Max Foster, both Episcopal parishioners.[16] The two lobbied Congress and also contacted university scientists with the Greater St. Louis Committee for Nuclear Information (CNI), a group that included Barry Commoner of Washington University, who would become a leading spokesman for environmental causes. This was one of at least two Eskimo links to CNI. LaVerne Madigan, national secretary of the Association for American Indian Affairs, also made sure the Eskimos and CNI knew each other.[17] In time, as CNI studied Project Chariot, the committee connected with some of the field researchers, including Foote, Viereck, and William Pruitt, and the Eskimos' circle of friends grew.[18] This was the beginning of a political mobilization that would culminate in an unprecedented meeting of disparate Native groups in northern Alaska.

A Clash of Cultures

The Eskimos of Point Hope first protested in November 1959 in a letter to the AEC.[19] Eventually, the Chariot officials were persuaded they must deal with Point Hope and, in March 1960, three men visited the village. What occurred was a clash of cultures that only assured the Eskimos their fears were well founded. Lawton attended the meeting. His notes show that the visitors presented a technical film with a technical narration the residents little understood. The villagers' elemental questions were not answered except by sweeping assurances that no harm would come to them.[20]

The AEC did extend its program of environmental studies. This was significant for at least two reasons: it expanded the purpose of the studies and lengthened the project's lead time. AEC had a program of environmental studies from the beginning, but the original purpose was simply to collect "before" data to compare with "after" data from the blast; now the studies took on the larger purpose of considering the Eskimos' welfare rather than only the effects upon them. This elemental shift went unreported in the press beyond *pro forma* reports that there would be 50 researchers in the Ogotoruk Valley for the summer of 1960. The full environmental report would not be published until 1966, but dissenting researchers made reports to CNI, which proved to be as public relations conscious as Teller and the AEC.

In June 1961, CNI devoted a full edition of its bulletin, *Nuclear Information*, to Project Chariot. At the core of the report:

- radioactive fallout concentrates in lichen, a rootless plant that takes its sustenance not from the soil but straight from the air;
- caribou live on lichens, including places like Cape Thompson's Ogotoruk Valley where winds sweep off the snow and expose the delicate tundra plant life;
- Eskimos eat caribou, up to 30 percent of their diet.

The bottom line was troubling. Even though radioactive fallout fell in lighter quantities in polar regions than elsewhere, the effect of the Eskimo food chain was to concentrate the radioactivity such that Eskimos carried much more radioactivity than other Americans. Commoner and CNI did not directly oppose the project but argued that no one knew what was safe, and that the AEC could not assure that no one would be harmed by blasting Chariot.[21] The timing of CNI's bulletin proved critical. It followed shortly after the Sierra Club Bulletin reprinted Viereck's story from the Alaska Conservation Society, and it stimulated further coverage of the issue nationally by the wire services and magazines.

With support from the Association for American Indian Affairs, Alaska's Eskimos held an unprecedented meeting in Barrow in November 1961 under the name "Inupiat Paitot," a reference to "people's heritage." The Natives took a stand that the lands surrounding their villages (including Cape Thompson) were historically theirs, that they held legitimate rights to these lands, and the government had no right to the use of the land without their consent. Neither the *Anchorage Times* nor *The New York Times* covered the conference, but the *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*

sent reporter Tom Snapp. The rest of the press thus covered this singular Native American event second hand. This story was the culmination of a significant change in coverage by the Fairbanks newspaper, as will be shown.[22]

When the AEC actually set Chariot on the shelf, *The New York Times* told the story in only three AP paragraphs. In the third paragraph, the AEC conceded nothing, saying that "information expected to be gained from the project was now available or might be developed from other experiments."[23] AEC's project chief had written in an internal memorandum:

> However, on balance, it would appear that the most seriously adverse effect of the decision to cancel . . . would be the lasting impression on certain officials and on public opinion generally that there was really some danger to the local inhabitants after all.[24]

New Territory for Press Coverage

This study explores the role of the press in Project Chariot's transformation from project to reject. Throughout the period from 1958 to 1962 Project Chariot had a public dimension as part of Project Plowshare. As a plan for civil uses of nuclear technology, Plowshare work was ostensibly above board and public rather than classified. In practice, the AEC had broad military security powers, and an uncertain volume of documentation remained under classification review more than 30 years later.[25]

Yet the AEC's public relations campaign and the nature of the program brought Plowshare's Projects Chariot, Gnome and Sedan extensive, issue-oriented news coverage. This was new territory for news organizations, accustomed by the secrecy of wartime atomic research to receiving only what their government considered newsworthy.[26] How did the press respond to unusual news respecting people beyond the mainstream? Did press coverage portray conflict and debate? Did coverage manifest change over time? What reporting methods or practices were evident, including the use of sources, in the way the press handled Project Chariot?

To analyze such press performance, a framework was needed that encompassed the nature of the press as well as the nature of the issues under consideration. This study examines the articles published in Alaska's two primary daily newspapers of the day, the *Anchorage Times* and the *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, and the nation's then most-ubiquitous daily,

The New York Times. The analytical framework includes the nature of minorities and influence in public politics and the role of conflict as a mechanism of interaction and communication. Questions of minorities and press treatment deal as well with the legitimation of minority points of view. The importance of influence and its relationship to conflict has been studied in social psychology and communications. Moscovici in 1976 showed how the social control value of the majority culture, or mainstream, relies on the "painless resolution of conflicts" to help maintain a "single view of reality" in support of the status quo.[27] He wrote that conflict is "at the root of uncertainty" as people vie to make others unsure of their opinions, and "the greater the conflict the more profound the influence."[28]

Tichenor, Donohue and Olien, in extensive research of Minnesota communities and news media, have shown that the portrayal of conflict over issues helps to increase public attention and tends also to narrow the "knowledge gap" with "an increased likelihood in a conflict that citizens of all status levels will acquire information."[29] Similarly, Hornig studied readers' feelings of powerlessness in relation to science news and found that conflict or the representation of ambiguity among supposed experts gave readers an enhanced sense of power as opposed to when all experts seemed to agree.[30] Thus it appears that press portrayals can attract attention, stimulate doubt and lend legitimacy to arguments. The obverse supposition is that without conflict, little information is acquired, or the information purveyed tends only to support the status quo and not to stimulate change.

Hallin illustrated the importance of gaining legitimacy in order for a minority point of view to win recognition. In his model of news status, Hallin depicts concentric circles in which the inner circle is the sphere of consensus, the middle circle the sphere of legitimate controversy, and everything beyond that circle the sphere or domain of the deviant, or those who are not recognized in the inner circles. The move from deviance into legitimate controversy is critical, for it is only there that issues win debate. Issues in deviance are largely ignored, while matters in consensus are accepted as given.[31]

In separate studies on minority influence, Moscovici and Gerard found that such a move into legitimate controversy is critical to minority achievement in conflict with a majority. Once a minority achieves credibility, it may even enjoy a tactical advantage, as described by Gerard:

> The majority establishment . . . tends to be deaf to currents of opinion that might undermine their vested interests, whereas the marginal minority, with no such stake, can afford to be

> open . . . The closed, confirming, biased stance of the majority . . . is the seed of the majority's eventual undoing.[32]

Moscovici concluded that a group creates conflict when it resists conforming to the majority and proposes an alternative. Consistent pressure can bring its viewpoint to the fore and such a group "thus forces everyone to take its alternative into consideration."[33]

In reference to Alaska, circa 1959, the terms "mainstream" and "majority culture" will be used here synonymously as references to the white, Judaeo-Christian majority population, and its capitalist, frontier land-use ethic. The minority in this study is actually a coalition: the Eskimos, small in number and separated from the majority by geography and an aboriginal culture; and dissenting members of the mainstream, chiefly university scientists and conservationists. In the course of Project Chariot, these groups effectively coalesced around the Eskimo cause.

Mainstream Press: Benign or Malignant?

In this study's conceptual framework, where does the press fit? The consensual view in Alaska, then as now, favored progress and boosterism. The new state's majority culture was flush with the triumph of statehood in 1959, and the *Anchorage Times* and its publisher, Robert Atwood, were at the forefront. In the American experience, such boosterism was common in the frontier press.[34] Behind the slogan of the "Last Frontier" in Alaska, there ran a strong thread of a frontier spirit and an accompanying boosterism that Atwood championed as much as if not more than anyone.[35] In Fairbanks, publisher C.W. Snedden was a newcomer by Alaska standards, but he embraced the booster mentality, serving the new Alaska State Chamber of Commerce as president.[36]

Such publishers held a stake in a kind of progressive status quo and as such were members of the mainstream, majority culture. Yet this is not a study of publishers alone, and here a full picture of newspaper press performance requires an additional frame of reference. *In Human Behavior and the Principle of Least Effort*, Zipf hypothesized that people are prone to find paths that work, and to rely on them in ways that create and reinforce a status quo.

The principle holds that humans seek efficiency in terms of the least effort required to achieve a given result, and then repeat the behavior rather than risk new effort. Thus habits are born.[37] The principle is put forward here as a single container for other hypotheses—newsroom

socialization, gatekeeping, agenda setting, source reliance and issue framing—to be dealt with as a whole, accepting their common emphasis on how the press does its job, but rejecting for the purposes of this study arguments of distinction and cause and effect. The principle of least effort also offers an alternative explanation to the conspiratorial implication made in some analyses that press complicity, rather than expedience or habit, is at work in repressing minorities and upholding the majority status quo. The proposition here suggests that complicity resulting merely from sloth or habit is susceptible to change. It is assumed that a conscious application of ideology would not be so amenable to change. In other words, the assumption suggests that a slothful press can manifest changes that a conspiratorial press would refuse; that the mainstream press at its worst may be benign rather than malignant.

This inquiry includes questions of how issues are framed in the news, which issues are portrayed as newsworthy, and how news organizations use sources. Thus, the question of how the press performs contains within it a subsidiary question: Does press performance manifest an aspect of news coverage by rote rather than by the rigorous search for truth that the press often claims as its nature? Does the press use and rely on readily available sources, habitual sources, or those sources with a vested interest in one point of view? Or does the press seek out the hard interview or the unusual answers?

One model of the difference between using routine sources and methods or seeking out alternative views was displayed by the *Seattle Times* in its coverage of another Alaska story, the Exxon Valdez oil spill in 1989. In Smith's analysis of the Exxon Valdez coverage, the Pulitzer Prize, taken as an award that recognizes exemplary journalism, was earned by the *Seattle Times* because its reporters and editors avoided routine, easy approaches to find perspectives that other media ignored.[38]

Certain assumptions undergird this study. The first is that Project Chariot would have harmed the Eskimos and their lifestyle. Disagreements about fallout effects go back to the 1940s.[39] Yet evidence of harm from nuclear testing has been documented in Kazakhstan, where the Soviet Union detonated some 500 nuclear weapons, as well as among island peoples of the Pacific testing area used by the United States.[40, 41]

The second and primary assumption is that this case study is generalizable, for its place in the past is the recent past and not the far past and lies well within prevailing press norms of the practice of objectivity and fair play. The press by the late '50s was accustomed to portraying itself as the watchdog of government. Further, issues central to this study,

including a call for the press to be open to minority points of view, were promoted prominently a decade earlier in the Report of the Commission on Freedom of the Press.[42]

Early Studies Criticized Coverage

Several studies of Project Chariot have been published. Four retrospective works have been published since 1986, each critical of Alaska's mainstream press for supporting the project without regard for the Eskimos of the region or the environment. The earliest major critiques of Project Chariot were the reports in the *Sierra Club Bulletin* in May 1961,[43] by the Committee for Nuclear Information in June 1961[44] and by *Harper's* magazine in 1962.[45] These reports did not address media questions.

The recent studies have been qualitative examinations that (among other arguments) suggested active press bias without attempting to account for the full range of press coverage and publicity. In "An Authentic Voice in the Technocratic Wilderness: Alaskan Natives and the *Tundra Times*," authors Patrick Daley and Beverly James viewed Project Chariot from a communications perspective in light of the Gramscian concept of hegemony. The authors offer an extensive critical analysis of the events in two issues affecting Alaska Natives: Project Chariot and the coincident federal enforcement of a waterfowl hunting ban near Barrow.

The paper shows how Natives resorted to media, the founding of the *Tundra Times*, to gain access into Alaska's mass media. It aptly critiques the failings of the mainstream press to confront the issues, but it also fails to measure or acknowledge press changes during the controversy or to explore ways in which Eskimos, scientists and conservationists were able to enter the public debate through the mainstream media. The *Tundra Times* actually came too late to the rescue, publishing its first edition after Project Chariot was suspended.

In the Daley and James view, whether it was hegemony or hometown boosterism, the result was the same:

> In Alaska, this process was played out in the press whenever issues of economic development offered promises of economic payoff through the quick fixes of scientific, technological, and military expertise. Any dissent could be managed by appealing to the technical and scientific knowledge of legitimated experts. Claims could be asserted under the professional rules of objectivity and impartiality . . . legitimated sources could command newspaper space . . . with little threat of challenge . . . .[46]

An extensive Project Chariot account came from a British researcher, Peter Coates, in his book, *The Trans-Alaska Pipeline Controversy.* In laying the groundwork for the pipeline story, Coates first details the history of two presaging proposals, Project Chariot and Rampart Dam, an abortive plan to dam the Yukon River. The Coates book has a lengthy bibliography and extensive notations, and traces the history of the country's colonial use of Alaska to modern Alaska boosterism. Coates addresses Native concerns and sketches press coverage of Project Chariot, including the boosterism of publishers Atwood and Snedden, without posing any research question about press performance.[47] Coates concluded that the argument over Chariot was "how the proposal jeopardized the Native way of life . . . and the inseparability of humankind from the rest of nature . . . ."[48]

Coates took his lead from an historical account of the controversy, "Project Chariot: How Alaska Escaped Nuclear Excavation," published in 1989 in the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* by Dan O'Neill.[49] O'Neill's is an extensively researched, compact history, touching on all the major points of Project Chariot, but it deals only peripherally with the press. He later expanded his report to book length.[50] One other book, *Art and Eskimo Power: The Life and Times of Alaskan Howard Rock* by Lael Morgan, includes four chapters about Project Chariot, but deals with the media only anecdotally.[51]

This literature tells much of the history of Project Chariot but has examined the news media role only secondarily and hypothetical questions about minority influence not at all. It seems insufficient to quote a few editorials that seem outrageous in the light of 1986 or 1989, and to conclude that Project Chariot was a botch job by the mainstream press. The studies published so far do not tell us whether the press failed to portray conflict, failed to report the Eskimo viewpoint, or failed to tell oppositional sides of the story.

The "Frontier" Alaska Press Cheered Project Chariot

The Alaska press in 1958 was not metropolitan. The *Anchorage Times* was the largest newspaper and passed 20,000 in circulation during the Project Chariot period. The next largest papers were the *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner* and the *Anchorage Daily News* with roughly 10,000 circulation each.[52] The *Daily News* was then a sideline published by a printing shop operator, and was not taken very seriously.[53, 54] There were only three other daily newspapers in the state, totaling fewer than 9,000 subscribers in Juneau, Ketchikan and Sitka.

Anchorage and Fairbanks had commercial radio stations. Television was available, but there were no satellite links, network programming

wasn't live and newscasting efforts were slight. Alaska TV viewers waited to see programs that were broadcast at least a week earlier in the lower 48 states. United Press had a representative in Anchorage. The Associated Press operated a one-man Alaska bureau in Juneau, the new state's capital city. Juneau was almost as far as one could be from Point Hope and still be in the same state, a distance roughly equal to that between Chicago and San Francisco, but here there was no road from one to the other, no train tracks, no regularly scheduled airline, and no telephone lines.

In Alaska's two largest cities, the *Anchorage Times* and the *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner* cheered the AEC, following every official visit of Teller or other AEC representatives with editorials and largely one-sided news reports.[55] Anchorage's Atwood stood second to no one as an Alaska and Anchorage booster, and manifested little interest in any journalistic ethic that would separate him from his favorite causes. He chaired the Statehood Committee while his newspaper promoted statehood without pause or caution, both in editorial comment and in choices of coverage and emphasis.

When it came to the AEC proposal, he recalled, "We were always pro, positive and go-for-it; go ahead." He had editorialized that the newspaper was for the people and that his concerns were those that reflected the most good for the most people.[56] Now his newspaper said editorially that Alaskans had to trust in progress and the experts who, after all, were the ones who understood nuclear technology.[57] Atwood had published the *Times* since buying it in 1935 when Anchorage was a town of 2,500 on the shore of Cook Inlet. It could be said that Atwood married Anchorage, for his purchase of the newspaper virtually coincided with his marriage to Evangeline Rasmuson, daughter of the town's and eventually the state's No. 1 banker. What was good for Anchorage's economy was good for the Atwoods, and what was good for the Atwoods from 1942 on was an almost constantly increasing federal presence.

The federal government put Anchorage at the heart of Alaska, choosing to route the Alaska Railroad from ports at Seward and Whittier through Anchorage to the Interior, and siting Air Force and Army bases just across the river from the city. By 1958, some 70,000 people lived in Anchorage and Atwood was selling almost 20,000 newspapers a day six days a week. Few members of his newspaper's audience were Alaska Natives, and some of those were Indians rather than Eskimos. In 1960, Alaska's urban population was 85,767; the white majority numbered 76,131; African Americans 3,414; Indians 3,524; "Other" 1,972; and Asians 1,769. The Eskimos were part of the "other" category.[58]

In Fairbanks, C.W. Snedden came along in the mid-1950s as a newspaper efficiency expert who had been hired to size up the *Daily*

News-Miner and make recommendations to its publisher, Austin "Cap" Lathrop, a successful businessman who also owned radio stations. When Lathrop didn't like the bottom line of Snedden's recommendations, Lathrop said that he wished he had someone to buy it. Snedden took him up on the idea.[59]

Fairbanks had benefited from federal spending as Anchorage had. Fairbanks was the terminus of the Alaska Highway, the home of Ladd Air Force Base and the city nearest to Fort Greely. Construction was under way on early-warning system radar stations in the north. Neither the *Anchorage Times* nor the *Fairbanks News-Miner* was in the business of questioning federal spending in Alaska, let alone in a distant corner which some believed to be a barren waste. If the feds could make Cape Thompson worth something—in the capitalist, land-profiting sense of worth—then this was all to the good.[60] A sympathetic biographer wrote that Atwood "celebrated" Project Chariot as "tailor-made for the remote and sparsely settled region."[61] *The News-Miner* unabashedly welcomed Teller and the AEC in its editorial columns, quoting Teller and concluding: "We say to Dr. Teller and his fellow scientists: Alaska welcomes you. Tell us how we can help."[62]

Economics Versus Invisible Eskimos

The only early arguments in the press about the merits of Project Chariot were about economics and were among members of the majority culture. Early press reports usually made no mention of the presence of Native residents, and their use of the land was not an issue.

Despite common interests in boosterism and federal spending, the *Fairbanks News-Miner* and the *Anchorage Times* were not twins. Anchorage was the hub of Alaska's mainstream economy, and Native influence was slight—economically and socially. Fairbanks, the commercial center of the north, was much closer to the villages and enjoyed significant ties to the life and economy of the Yukon River, the traditional "highway" to the coast. The Fairbanks newspaper's interest in the villages was evident in its publication of rural correspondent reports. Two Fairbanks editors, George Sundborg and his successor, Cliff Cernick, recalled that the *Daily News-Miner* was noted for these columns, often written in folksy styles or even broken English.[63, 64]

The number of rural correspondent columns in the newspaper's pages doubled during Cernick's editorship, the middle years of the Project Chariot period. The *News-Miner* network of correspondents included Allen Rock of Point Hope, brother of the founding editor of the *Tundra Times*, and Guy Okakok of Barrow, who would become a principal actor

in the Natives' first area-wide conference in 1961. These connections led the *News-Miner* to other Native news, such as school crowding or a critical shortage of heating fuel in Barrow, that did not appear in the Anchorage newspaper.[65, 66] The rural correspondents provided a steady flow of anecdotal evidence of the Native lifestyle and the importance of hunting for food. Clearly the *News-Miner*, unlike the *Times*, included the Native population within its newspaper community, yet this newspaper in the late '50s was just as clearly a mainstream publication, complete with Ann Landers, Blondie and the daily horoscope.

In the 1980s, William Tobin, then an editor with the *Anchorage Times*, explained why Natives were not included in that newspaper's concept of its role.

> I think it's perfectly proper that the white establishment press doesn't tell the Native side. We are not out for a particular cause. We don't have a Native affairs reporter; but we don't have a military affairs reporter, either.[67]

Another way of stating this argument would be that the *Times* viewed itself precisely as a newspaper of the majority culture. In Fairbanks, the newspaper's definition of community was more inclusive. The *Anchorage Times* never sent a reporter to Point Hope; the *News-Miner* did, once in 1959.

Tobin said that when he was AP's Alaska reporter from 1956 to 1960 he never dreamed of going to Point Hope or any place in the Bush.[68] There might as well have been no way to get there, Tobin said, and that wasn't what he was there for. "We were covering the building of a new state," he said, referring to the organization starting in January 1959 of the state government. He remembered Project Chariot as something he had to worry about only when Edward Teller came to town.[69]

Effort and expense were the costs of reporting news in the Bush. Further, it was doubtful whether a reporter could file stories because of irregular communications links. All of this probably discouraged assignment editors with limited staffs. Sources from the AEC, Teller's Livermore laboratory, and the Chambers of Commerce were available; Eskimos were not. Atwood said he doesn't remember being offered any flights to Point Hope and wasn't anxious to go there. Project Chariot was "way out there where nobody was around and couldn't get hurt," as he remembered in the spring of 1993. "We didn't do that much [coverage], you know. Unless some scientist or engineer who was working on it would say something. It [Chariot news] had to pretty much fall in our laps." Atwood added, "We were pretty much writing about things we didn't know too much about."[70]

The AEC fell into their laps more often than the opposition. In 92 articles (including editorials and letters) the *Anchorage Times* published regarding Project Chariot, the newspaper cited AEC or Livermore spokesmen as sources or for other reasons in 444 paragraphs, while citing village residents, Natives in general or conservationists as sources or actors 154 times. The *News-Miner*, in its 121 articles (including editorials and letters), cited AEC sources or actors 613 times while mentioning Natives or conservationists as sources or actors 294 times. Atwood did not remember the Eskimos as being very concerned about Chariot. Rather, he said, "They could be stirred up by lawyers and do-gooders to serve their ends."[71]

Keith Lawton, Point Hope's Episcopal minister from 1959 to 1965, disagreed dramatically with that view. The village had elected a council since the 1940s. Lawton said he knew the Eskimos as "very political," and said the village men's exposure to the military and to the cities had made them astute about cultural differences. Their English writing may have seemed awkward, but he said they were determined. He helped them interpret AEC technical language, but they insisted on writing their letters. "These people are pretty sharp . . . as far as being able to assess the dangers to them that Project Chariot made, yes indeed."[72]

The *News-Miner*, meanwhile, in the summer of 1959 sent staff writer Albro Gregory to Cape Thompson when the AEC invited newspapers to visit. There was one catch: the government did not offer transportation.[73] The only newspaper reporters dispatched were Gregory and—a year later—Lawrence Davies of *The New York Times*. Gregory's reporting produced no breakthroughs. In a four-part series of articles, he relayed the story as told to him by Livermore and AEC sources, mentioned the Eskimos only in passing, and did not attribute any information or arguments to any Eskimo or to any of the University of Alaska researchers who were then working in the field with AEC.

Atwood said he could not remember the size of the *Anchorage Times* news staff then. At least 11 staff bylines appeared in 1961-62 and, following the industry standard of the time (one news staffer per 1,000 circulation), it seems reasonable to guess that the news staff numbered 20. The typical daily edition was 16 to 24 pages long. In Fairbanks, according to Sundborg, the news staff numbered no more than nine persons. The typical daily edition was 10 to 16 pages long. An annual "Progress Edition" in November ran as long as 166 pages, accomplished by contracting a supplemental editor who worked for several weeks with no other responsibilities. Among other things, this edition showed off the

prowess of Snedden's print shop operation in which he invested more pride and dollars than he did in the news department.[74]

The New York Times worked under stricter limitations in Alaska, with no staff stationed there. The Chariot stories published in the New York paper came from Associated Press, from *Times* staffers working in Washington, D.C., or from Davies, the paper's West Coast correspondent, stationed in San Francisco. During the Project Chariot years, Davies twice filed reports from Alaska, once from Point Hope and once from Anchorage.

While Gregory and Davies each made one trip to Point Hope, the *Anchorage Times* wound up writing letters to Eskimos asking them to write back. Two did. The first, a letter from Kivalina, a village of about 100 people 40 miles south of ground zero, was featured in a story following up the Barrow conference about whether Natives really opposed Project Chariot. It quoted the single letter as saying the men of Kivalina were more interested in AEC jobs than opposing the project. No other Eskimos were quoted.[75] The second letter, reported in a later story, told of Point Hope village leader David Frankson's objections to Chariot.[76]

Alaska and its small-town press may have been suited to a kind of control Teller and the AEC officials hoped to enjoy over information flow. Teller made two trips to Alaska, once each in 1958 and 1959. According to news accounts, Teller's associate director at the laboratory, Gerald Johnson, made at least two trips; Dr. Harry Keller made one, accompanied by colleagues; AEC Commissioner Leland Haworth and others made one; Dr. John N. Wolfe, head of environmental studies for the AEC, made at least two; and a variety of other AEC officials and representatives of contractors made appearances in the Alaska press during northern trips. Between visits by scientists and AEC officials, and AP stories quoting Alaska's Senator Bartlett and Washington's Senator Jackson, the press had numerous Chariot stories fall in their laps.

Associated Press was a primary source for both the *Anchorage Times* and the Fairbanks paper. In Anchorage, 47 percent of the Project Chariot paragraphs were from non-staffers, almost exclusively the Associated Press. In Fairbanks, 38.2 percent of all paragraphs were from AP and from letters to the editor. (*The New York Times* coding for AP stories was 17.2 percent, but some other "special to the Times" stories appeared to include information from AP reports.)

Again, official sources were easy to come by and minority sources were not. Table 1 shows the percentage frequency of paragraph references during the Teller period in the *Anchorage Times*, the *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner* and *The New York Times* for sources and actors from the AEC and its representatives (shown as AEC); for sources and actors from among the Natives; and as sources only from university scientists, conservationists

and other oppositional sources (shown as Opp.). Sources indicate source reliance and framing by the press, while actors are one indication of framing, especially when relevant actors are excluded.

Table 1: Percentage Frequency of References by Paragraph

Newspaper	AEC source	AEC actor	Native source	Native actor	Opp. source
Daily Times	27.9	27.2	0.3	7.5	4.8
News-Miner	29.6	26.9	0.3	5.3	5.1
N.Y. Times	34.6	14.1	0	3.8	0

[*Daily Times* N=574; *News-Miner* N=774; *NY Times* N=78.]

The "After-Teller" Effect

With the arrival of summer in 1960, Teller left Livermore (and thus Project Chariot) to work as a university professor on broader issues. During the next 12 months press coverage manifested changes in sources of information, in issues covered and in conflicts portrayed. How much of this shift might be attributed to Teller's high profile public relations and his aggressive promotional attitude, and how much might be a result of growing momentum and cohesion among oppositional forces is speculative. This study reveals interesting changes in press performance before and after Teller's departure, but no direct evidence to prove a "Teller effect."

Broad, in a critical biography of Teller, portrays an erratic genius with a Midas touch for publicity.[77] Teller himself did not respond to inquiries about such questions, but his administrative assistant at Livermore, Gen Phillips, replied that he was not in any event the official spokesman for either the AEC or the project, and added that "our colleagues" believe the speculation here about the Teller effect "is based on an erroneous assumption," that is, "The tone and amount of newspaper coverage changed, but it is believed that this was due to increasing public knowledge about the project, and the actions of a few individuals adamantly opposed to the project."[78] The AEC's belief that a few individuals fueled the opposition was documented in 1961 when Brig. Gen. A.W. Betts compiled a "top ten" list that included Don Foote, Keith Lawton, the men in New Hampshire, Les Viereck, the Alaska Conservation Society and CNI.[79]

The question, however, was not whether Teller was the official spokesman for Project Chariot, but whether he acted as such—either on

his own volition or as a result of news reporting. In fact, Teller and Wolfe were cited explicitly more often than any other officials as sources or as project leader in news stories about Project Chariot in the *Anchorage Times* and in the *Fairbanks News-Miner*. Teller was so cited in 34 articles; Wolfe in 22. Teller's associate director was so cited 21 times. No one else came close, and Rod Southwick, the AEC's public information spokesman, was so cited in only eight articles.[80]

By the time CNI's June 1961 bulletin brought the Project Chariot issue to a head, nuclear testing in the atmosphere was well under way in the Soviet Union and was about to be resumed in the United States. This heightened general awareness and anxiety about fallout produced many newspaper articles, in Alaska as elsewhere, about local radiation levels, fallout and fallout shelters. Yet none of these articles related the fallout issue to Project Chariot. That issue was left to CNI, the Greater St. Louis Citizens Committee for Nuclear Information. The committee's bulletin, Nuclear Information, reported how radioactive fallout concentrates in the lichen the caribou eat before the Eskimos eat the caribou. The committee reported that the effect of the Eskimo food chain was to concentrate radioactivity inside the Eskimos.[81]

The committee's report created controversy that resulted in portrayals of conflict in the *Anchorage Times*, in the *Fairbanks News-Miner*, and in *The New York Times*. Other media outlets also took interest, such as *The Christian Science Monitor*, which ran a major article and followed thereafter with occasional reports. But the critical difference that came in Alaska was a decision at the *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner* to cut the fetters from reporter Tom Snapp, who had been arguing for coverage of the oppositional cause. He produced a four-part series detailing the Native concerns in August 1961. Snapp's reportorial recognition of the Eskimos' arguments as legitimate controversy marked a notable mainstream press breakthrough. Most of the conflict that found its way into print in the spring and summer of 1961 had been arguments about Eskimos; Snapp presented views of the Eskimos.

Alaska's Eskimos took a stand in the fall of 1961. The different Eskimo villages, finding common cause in Project Chariot and the eider duck controversy, and with support from the Association for American Indian Affairs, held a meeting in Barrow in November in which the villages acted in concert for the first time. The story was reported in the *Anchorage Times* on November 20, 1961, in six paragraphs on page three and in *The New York Times* over four columns on an inside page on Sunday, December 3, 1961. These reports were second-hand reports, drawn from wire service versions of the reporting of Tom Snapp, the only reporter who attended the Eskimo meeting. The *Daily News-Miner* published Snapp's account on page one, and followed up in a later edition

with a full page of his photographs of the event. This exposure, combined with the CNI bulletin news, bears the marks of confirming the Eskimo cause as an occupant of Hallin's Sphere of Legitimate Controversy. Deeper analysis revealed stronger indications that the breakthrough into legitimacy was achieved and that news coverage changed.

Quality of Coverage Changed

Media performance was not static. The content analysis for this study produced a variety of calculations to support the proposition that the quality of Project Chariot news coverage did change over time, that the minority achieved a breakthrough into legitimacy in the news, and that the newspapers adhered to the principle of least effort in their approaches to reporting the story. Evidence of these changes is found by extending the calculations used in Table 1 to the full period of study.

The percentage of frequencies for AEC sources and actors, Native sources and actors, and other oppositional sources shows little change from the first period (the Teller years) to the second or transitional period. But in the final period, comprising the 15 months after CNI's special bulletin edition on Project Chariot, Alaska Natives move from virtual invisibility to representation in almost half of the paragraphs appearing in the *Fairbanks News-Miner* articles and nearly one-third of the paragraphs in the *Anchorage Times.*

Table 2: Percentage Frequency of References by Paragraphs, 1958-62

These figures compare reference percentages in paragraphs in June 1961 through August 1962 with the same percentages for the earlier periods of this study for each newspaper.

Newspaper	AEC source	AEC actor	Native source	Native actor	Opp. source
Daily Times	15.1	20.1	12.1	17.6	6.5
June '60-61	28.0	26.2	0	9.3	14.0
June '58-60	27.9	27.2	0.3	7.5	4.8
News-Miner	12.1	18.2	6.5	40.6	20.6
June '60-61	21.5	29.2	0	7.6	16.0
June '58-60	29.6	26.9	0.3	5.3	5.1
NY Times	17.4	26.8	6.5	16.7	6.5
June '60-61	30.4	15.2	6.5	21.7	0
June '58-60	34.6	14.1	0	3.8	0

[Sample for June 1960 through May 1961: *Daily Times* N=107, *News-Miner* N=144, *NY Times* N=46; and June 1961-August 1962: *Daily Times* N=199, *News-Miner* N=340, *NY Times* N=138.]

Change in source choices and an indication of a shift in emphasis were also supported by frequencies regarding business sources and actors, and those for conservationists. Before June 1960 (while the Alaska newspapers were covering Chamber of Commerce debates), business sources and actors appeared in 44 paragraphs (7.7 percent) in the *Anchorage Times*, 47 paragraphs (6 percent) in the *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, and 2 paragraphs (2.5 percent) in *The New York Times*. Afterward, business sources virtually disappeared; there were none in either *Times* newspaper and a single occurrence in the Fairbanks paper. Thus, such sources dropped from 6.5 percent of paragraphs in the first two years to .001 percent in the remaining two. Conservationists, on the other hand, followed an inverse pattern, from near invisibility to marginal visibility. They appeared only in the Fairbanks newspaper for the first two years (2.3 percent in the *News-Miner* and 1.2 percent overall), but in 8.7 percent of all paragraphs thereafter.

Two events mark change in the resolution of Project Chariot, as well as in the nature of its news coverage. The first was the departure in mid-1960 of Edward Teller as a pointman for Project Chariot. The second was the publication by CNI in June 1961 of an edition of its *Nuclear Information* that was devoted to the project and to an issue the AEC and the press had not disclosed: the peculiar relationship of the Eskimo to a unique food chain and radioactivity. After June 1960, as has been shown, change manifested in the pages of the *Anchorage Times* and *Fairbanks News-Miner*; after June 1961 this change accelerated.

One change was a decelerated rate of reporting. Teller left Project Chariot at the halfway point of the period involved in this study, but well more than half of the coverage occurred during the two years he headed the Livermore laboratory. The *Anchorage Times*, for example, published 64 stories during the two years, and just 28 stories afterward. In all three newspapers, 1,426, or 59.4 percent of all paragraphs in articles about Project Chariot, appeared in print during Teller's two years. Whatever the reasons, Teller's leadership brought more stories to the newspapers than found their way into print after his departure.

The content of the newspapers was also coded for viewpoints. Percentages show that 13.7 percent of all paragraphs questioned Project Chariot while Teller was in charge and 28.9 percent did so after he left. The percentage increased to 31.6 percent after the CNI bulletin of June 1961. This viewpoint thus increased in each successive period: 13.7 percent to 22.9 percent to 31.7 percent.

How often did the newspapers refer to pro-Chariot and oppositional actors in the same story? These frequencies indicate the portrayal of conflict, if actors (people mentioned but not cited as sources) both pro

and con occur in the same articles more or less often. Such a tally, calculated at the level of the article rather than the paragraph, subsumes those articles in which pro-Chariot and oppositional sources appear in the same story, as the conflicting-source stories virtually always also include pro and con actors. Table 3 shows these indicators of conflict portrayals by chronological subdivision. The cases in which the newspapers reported Native actors and AEC actors in the same article are listed by frequency and by percentage of articles during each time period.

Table 3: Native Actors Compared with AEC Actors, As a Percentage of Articles

Paper	6/58-5/60		6/60-6/61		6/61-8/62	
Anchorage Times	17	26.5	4	36.4	105	55.5
Fairbanks News	17	23.0	5	29.4	15	50.0
NY Times	1	16.7	2	67.0	4	57.0

Finally, one test provides a finding that some of the key changes manifested in newspaper coverage over time were statistically significant. Cross-tabulations of the time periods by paragraph viewpoint, the presence of Native actors and the presence of keywords all produced strongly significant findings of association in the newspapers when calculating for the Chi Square test.[82] Six of the nine tests resulted in findings that the probability of the association occurring by chance was .001 or less; one was less than .002, and the other two were .007 or less. For example, in coding for viewpoint (that is, whether the paragraph contained content questioning the advisability of Project Chariot), the *Anchorage Times* data produced a probability level of less than .001 (Chi Square 32.6 with 2 degrees of freedom and 24.6 minimum expected frequency), as the frequency of "questioning" viewpoint increased chronologically.

Conflict, Easy Journalism and a Lazy Press

There is little room to doubt that the *Anchorage Times* and the *Fairbanks News-Miner* covered Project Chariot as former publisher Atwood recalled, that is by reliance on news coming to the newspaper, rather than by aggressive reporting. The profile does not appear very different for *The New York Times*. This was clearly the path of least effort. The indicated reliance on aggressive sources with special interests suggests weakness in the newspapers' approach.

Another conclusion suggested in this study is that the reporting of the issues of Project Chariot, from 1958 to 1962 in the Alaska newspapers was not anomalous. The *Daily Times* and the *Daily News-Miner* coverage manifested as many signs of thoroughness as did the Chariot coverage in *The New York Times*. Where differences occurred, many tended to favor the Alaska newspapers, especially the Fairbanks paper. The weakness of this conclusion is that *The New York Times* covered Project Chariot with such a markedly different frequency of reporting that the comparisons used have all been approximate at best.

The newspapers portrayed virtually no conflict during the first two years of Project Chariot, and then substantial conflict thereafter. It is problematical to draw any conclusions that the newspapers focused on conflict for the evidence, weighted qualitatively, is not strong. Conflict, when it appeared, seemed to come to the newspaper in such ways that it had to be treated forthrightly. An additional aspect of the problem, one which finds no hint of a guideline from the work of Moscovici or Tichenor, et al., is how much conflict? This study did not attempt to define a standard of how much conflict is significant.

I also have speculated in this study about the impact of Edward Teller's leadership because of its apparent relationship to Atwood's lap effect. The evidence is circumstantial, as the data show that dramatic changes in news coverage and emphasis occurred coincident with Teller's retirement from the scene. Field geographer Don C. Foote, writing to his brother in 1961, repeatedly referred to Teller as the leader and chief salesman of Project Chariot.[83] It is possible that Teller's absence from the Livermore laboratory resulted in a public relations vacuum or a shift to a circumspective stance among the leaders of the environmental studies, just as growing oppositional expressions awakened the press to new and broader questions. The marked decline in the amount of post-Teller coverage suggests that the answer is not as simple as the increased activism of oppositional individuals and organizations at work on a lazy press.

The focus of this study has been on the questions of whether the minority achieved legitimation in or through the press, whether press coverage manifested change over time, and whether press behavior exhibited signs of the principle of least effort, particularly in the use of sources and in story origination. The evidence found here strongly suggests that the simple answer to all three questions is yes. With more complexity, the story of Project Chariot shows that the press at its weakest can claim saving graces, but the story affords no cause for praise. This study suggests that the saving grace of the principle of least effort, when applied to the press, is that the press seems to be willing to treat oppositional news fairly, so long as the opposition brings the news to the press.

Habitual ways of working and thinking tend to support the status quo and confront minorities with obstacles when it comes to opposing mainstream ideology through the media. Their shortest route to recognition appears to lie in the creation of conflict.

The findings presented here offer a compelling profile of the "lap effect," to paraphrase Atwood. All the qualitative evidence and the quantitative data of this study can be easily applied to the principle of least effort. The *Anchorage Times*, the *Fairbanks News-Miner* and *The New York Times* did not pursue the basic questions about Project Chariot aggressively. They relied heavily, especially at the outset, on official and habitual sources. None challenged government claims of veracity and, in general, the press manifested a style of coverage designed to save costs and incidentally to favor technological progressivism as a consensus value of society.

In terms of the principle of least effort, the newspapers' sights were set too low to achieve better results. The ability of the minority in time to win news space, legitimacy and influence seems as much testimony to the "lap effect" as does the minority's absence from earlier coverage. If the press were ideologically motivated, the minority might never have expected any acknowledgment. What we see instead with Project Chariot is an easygoing press—a watchdog asleep on the porch that is only gradually roused to the dissonance of new voices and shadowy dangers behind the well-intended, if ill conceived, offering of a juicy steak.

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[2] Department of Energy. "Project Chariot Summary." Germantown, Md.: U.S. Department of Energy, Record Group 326, U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, Energy History Collection, 1993.

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[4] There were three villages in the official fallout zone: Point Hope with approximately 300 residents, Kivalina with 140 and Noatak with about 75. Point Hope lay 32 miles north of the blast site and Kivalina 42 miles southeast. Noatak, more than 60 miles away, was not mentioned in any news accounts.

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[14] Kelly. "Report to the General Manager by the Director, Division of Peaceful Nuclear Explosives."

[15] Snapp, Thomas. "Why Researcher Resigned." *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, 22 August 1961, 3.

[16] Lawton, Keith. Telephone interview, 22 April 1993.

[17] Morgan. *Art and Eskimo Power*.

[18] Viereck and Pruitt were awarded honorary doctorates by the University of Alaska Fairbanks in 1993 for their careers and their work on Project Chariot. They were nominated for the honor by university historian Dan O'Neill. Don Foote died after an automobile accident in the late 1960s.

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[82] The coding system categories were refined in pretesting with several coders using articles from the Anchorage Times. Reliability testing was then done by three coders using one-sixth of the Anchorage sample, or 15 articles. Substantial difficulty was encountered only with source and viewpoint categories. "Viewpoint" began as a five-option category. It was refined in stages until it became binary: "Does the paragraph, read in context, question the advisability of the Project Chariot proposal? 1. Yes; 2. No." The "source" category explanation in the coding book was refined and retested until it achieved reliability percentages of 90 percent and 95 percent between the author and two separate coders working with separate samples of 135 paragraphs, the former from Associated Press and the Daily News-Miner; the latter from the Anchorage Times. Final reliability coding tests were conducted between the author and one coder on 20 percent of the Fairbanks articles. The results exceeded 94 percent agreement on every category except sources (90 percent) and "hook" (whether the article was based on specific actions of the Atomic Energy Commission and its representatives). The author and the coder then discussed the definition of the hook category, and drew a new sample from the Daily News-Miner and the Associated Press. The final outcome was 95 percent on a sample with 20 stories and 184 paragraphs. I did the final coding of all units. I tested the stability of my coding by comparing coding done at different times for 95 paragraphs that appeared identically in the Anchorage Times and the Fairbanks Daily News-Miner. Of the categories finally used in this analysis, the stability percentage agreement was 90.5 percent for sources, 92 percent for viewpoint, and greater than 94 percent for all others. "Keywords" were those such as caribou or food chain that appeared almost exclusively in references in the context of questioning the advisability of Project Chariot.

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Great Ideas

My Newspaper Is Older Than Your Newspaper!

By Michael R. Smith

Before long the nation's oldest newspaper will celebrate another anniversary.

Will it be the *Maryland Gazette,* founded September 19, 1727 by William Parks?

Or will it be *The Hartford Courant,* first published October 29, 1764 by Thomas Green?

Or is it *The Virginia Gazette,* founded August 6, 1736 by William Parks (the same Parks of the *Maryland Gazette*)?

Each newpaper makes a distinction on some level, with the *Maryland Gazette* displaying the words "America's oldest newspaper" on its front page, *The Courant* noting it is "America's oldest continuously published newspaper" on its page one and *The Virginia Gazette* saying "Covering Williamsburg, James City and York since 1736" on its inside page one.

Who's right?

"We claim tongue-in-cheek to be the oldest continuing publishing company," says gregarious Philip Merrill, chairman and publisher of the *Maryland Gazette*, four other Maryland newspapers and *The Washingtonian* magazine.

Tim Hughes of Timothy Hughes Rare and Early Newspapers of Williamsport, Pennsylvania, agrees that the *Maryland Gazette* is an old publisher.

"The first lasted from 1727 to 1734," he says. "Then one lasted but for a single year in 1779, and another from 1745 through 1839. This one was 'down' for about six years and was started again in 1845, but it might have been begun again by a different publisher; in any case it certainly did not run continuously from 1745 to the present, which the *Connecticut/ Hartford Courant* can lay claim to."

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No problem. Merrill's not unduly protective of the historic claim, noting that *The Courant* has honors for its continuous newspaper publishing record, but he is insistent that his *Gazette* began a printing business in 1727 in Annapolis, making it the oldest publisher.

As for *The Courant*, its web page (<www.courant.com/about/history.stm>) details the newspaper's history and some of the qualifiers used to establish it as the nation's oldest continuously published newspaper. For instance, the web page article says *The Courant* has always been located in Hartford, has an unbroken publishing history from 1764 and was never absorbed by another newspaper.

Having made this statement, the article goes on to say the name has varied some over the years, from *The Connecticut Courant,* when it was originally a weekly, to *The Daily Courant* when it went daily in 1837. Furthermore, the newspaper suspended publication for two issues during the Revolutionary War when it ran out of paper. And although it has been owned by Times Mirror Company since 1979, the newspaper considers itself to still be the same publication.

Both the *Maryland Gazette* and *The Hartford Courant* have exhibits at the Newseum in Arlington, Virginia, which reinforce their claims to distinction. On display is the *Maryland Gazette*'s edition that features a copy of the US Constitution and the May 8, 1775 issue of *The Connecticut Courant* with a report on the battles of Lexington and Concord. The report is said to have been penned by Isaiah Thomas, known today as a journalism historian, for his own newspaper, *The Massachusetts Spy. The Courant* from April 9, 1865, announcing Lee's surrender at Appomattox, also is on display.

Jeff Schlosberg of the Newseum said the displays make no mention of either newspaper as being the oldest. "We steer clear of these sorts of claims, since there is always an element of uncertainty," he says.

Newseum's Griffin Kane said the Newseum avoids generalizations about the nation's oldest continuously published newspaper because the issue is so controversial. However, the Newseum highlights the *New York Evening Post* for its longevity in publishing circles.

In the Newseum is an illustration of Alexander Hamilton (1755-1804), among the 400 journalists selected to represent leading figures in journalism history. Beneath the illustration of Hamilton is this note: "In 1801, Hamilton helps found the *New York Evening Post*, the country's oldest continuously published daily."

If ownership and names aren't too much of an issue, a New Hampshire newspaper may have some distinction. Venerable journalism historian Frank Luther Mott cited the *New-Hampshire Gazette* of Portsmouth as the oldest surviving newspaper in his seminal history, *American Journalism, A History of Newspapers in the United States Through 250 Years, 1690*

to 1940. The descendant of *The New-Hampshire Gazette* is *The Portsmouth Herald*, says Derek Wood, former manager and now special projects director at *The Herald*.

Hanging on the wall of a conference room at *The Herald* is a reproduction of the first copy of its ancestor, dated October 7, 1756. However, not much is made of the history, says Wood. "We refer to it in a casual sort of way, but it's not part of our marketing strategy. The phrase we sometimes use is 'the Sea Coast's first newspaper.'"

Nevertheless, *The Courant*'s Kenneth J. DeLisa says, "In a very real sense, *The Courant* is older than the nation," adding that it reported on the adoption of the Declaration of Independence and the US Constitution and was the newspaper George Washington used to advertise land for lease at his Mount Vernon estate.

The idea of a suspension makes dating tricky.

For instance, in Sidney Kobre's thick *Development of American Journalism* published in 1969, Parks is said to have founded *The Virginia Gazette* in Williamsburg on August 6, 1736 and operated it "until the middle of the century, when he died almost penniless." In the 1930s *The Virginia Gazette* was revived in Williamsburg, but publisher and editor W. C. O'Donovan doesn't see the lapse in printing as a suspension.

"We were America's oldest weekly, at least until 1984 when we started publishing twice a week," O'Donovan says, adding that his newspaper comes out Wednesday and Saturday. He noted that the newspapers of the time moved when the capital became Richmond in 1780 and all of them wanted to be known as *The Virginia Gazette* to qualify for the government printing contracts. Only *The Virginia Gazette* was qualified, hence the competition for the name. While several iterations of the *Gazette* existed over the years, the name remains the same.

Merrill, publisher of the *Maryland Gazette*, says when his corporate attorney read that *The Virginia Gazette* ranked itself as serving readers since 1736, Merrill mailed a protest. In reply, Merrill was told, "I read about the suspensions of the *Maryland Gazette*. If you can have a suspension for a few days and still claim to be the oldest, we can have a suspension for 230 years and say we're the oldest."

For Merrill, that kind of thinking makes for great newspapers that deserve to boast, and he has no trouble with it at all.

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Book Reviews

I am beginning to realize that the material a book reviewer chooses to send for comment is only partially under his/her control. It would be ideal if the only volumes an editor received were strictly committed to the discipline of history. With 32 reviews per year, this is not always possible. As a result, many of the collections which appear in American Journalism *are relatively eclectic and this issue's reviews reflect just such an approach. I must mention that these books were chosen for review because in many ways, they reflect on the kind of lives we now lead.*

David Abrahamson's look at on-line reporting is most appropriate because, if for nothing else, this collection will be part of a history that is yet to come. Craig Allen's review of Cold War broadcasting serves to remind us that the past is some cases is just the present with a bit of a lag. This is one of the few books that has been published on media and the Cold War, which is why I chose to include it in this volume. Since we are on the subject of war, and having just gone through the nights over Yugoslavia, I chose to include a story of bravery and horror by a journalist in Sarajevo. It is amazing how soon current events lead us to forget those of the past and, in this case, the recent past.

Of course we pay homage to the past with David Davies' insightful look at Edward Caudill's study of Charles Darwin and how a theory promoted myths and misuse. Ronald Ostman gives us his views on some recent works on photo-journalism, something quite often missing in publications dedicated to journal-ism history. Kathy English comments on a collection of what the editors refer to as some of the best examples of reporting, and Mary Vipond looks at the latest collection of contemporary cartoons on Canadian political subjects, in particular French-English relationships. This month's feature work also deals with car-toons. Ian Gordon's study of the commercial impact of cartoons and comic strips argues with effectiveness that both modes of communication were critical in the emergence of a consumer culture in America, if not in the Western World.

>David R. Spencer, Book Review Editor

✓ Editor's Choice

Comic Strips and the Consumer Culture: 1890-1945

Ian Gordon, Washington and London: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1998. 233 pp.

Let the newspaper editor who dares cancel someone's favorite comic strip. Columns come and go, missed by some but seldom by all. Yet

comics, as they have done since 1895, inspire not only a significant draw for a journal, but fierce loyalty as well. For those of us interested in the various forms of cartoon art, we are struck on one occasion by the simplicity of many of the drawings and the complexity of the messages they deliver. It is the messages they deliver that struck the curiosity of Ian Gordon. Gordon, now the head of the faculty of visual communication at the KvB College of Visual Communication in Australia, spent some of his time as a pre-doctoral fellow with the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History. His book *Comic Strips and the Consumer Culture: 1890-1945* would appear to be the consequence of that relationship.

In contemporary times, anyone who watches television, reads a magazine, turns on the radio, picks up a telephone, goes to the live theater or attends a sporting event cannot be ambivalent to the invasion of our senses that the advertising industry provides. Messages are everywhere, on the boards surrounding the arenas in which hockey teams play, on scoreboards for baseball and football games, on Girl Guide cookie boxes, on the Internet, beside streets and highways. There appears to be no escape from the constant barrage of "invitations" to buy this or try that. I still find it truly amazing that consumers will pay significant sums of money to wear clothing that is in effect a mobile advertising vehicle for clever designers.

The strength of Gordon's work is that it provides answers as to how this form of consumer inundation began. He blames the commercialization of the comic strip, beginning humbly with Richard F. Outcault's now famous Yellow Kid. In Gordon's analysis, the comic strip was the single instrument which switched advertising policy from the written and pseudo-oral to the visual. More importantly, it performed the feat relatively quickly. Just eight short years after Outcault drew his first single cartoon and then strip for two New York newspapers, comic strips began to appear in newspapers across the United States and Canada.

More subtle was the shift from making the characters in the strips entertainers to marketers of products and services. It was this transition which began with the introduction of Buster Brown strips in 1902 to an overall merchandising strategy which is still in vogue today, that is the after-market of toys, music, computer software, clothing, films and any one of a dozen creations designed to sell products and services. Any parent today can relate to the intense pressure this places on the family when Jason next door has a complete set of Ninja Turtle toys and Jonathan living at your home does not. Buster Brown made advertising a visual notoral, or written form of communication. In a word, it was iconology.

Gordon specifically points to the move to the syndication of comics which began in 1903 in his attempt to explain their success as a marketing tool. This is beyond a doubt the strongest part of the book. He

painstakingly traces the growth of comics from central sources, in particular the Hearst chain in New York, and measures the impact of economies of scale on the publication industry. It is here that his argument has considerable force. Instead of being trapped in local markets across the country, products became national in scope with seemingly endless choices for expansion. The classic example he uses is that of Outcault's Buster Brown, which not only became a long running and successful strip, but the brand name of a shoe company which continues to exist. It is fitting that the face of the nerdy, innocent looking kid adorns the dust jacket of the book.

Gordon is particularly effective in his portrayal of how consumer culture values leaked into the strips, intentionally or otherwise. In the strip Gasoline Alley, which was launched on the eve of the automobile age, Gordon argues that the strip had as much to do with the "car-ing" of America as any well-designed advertising plan by advertising firms representing the major auto manufacturers. Week after week, the central character Walt Wallet, as well as his hangers-on, demonstrate their devotion and love for the piece of metal that gets them around the town. But, as Gordon clearly points out, the car is not merely a means to go from A to B. In Walt's mind it is, in a McLuhanesque sense, an extension of the man himself.

The integration of social values and marketing ploys in mass entertainment is no surprise to movie and music consumers today. In a scene in the Frank Sinatra - Gene Kelly film "Anchors Aweigh" the female lead Kathryn Grayson invites Kelly to join her in a Coke, but not a soda or cola. Manufacturers have been known to pay millions of dollars to ensure that their products receive some prominent platform in today's mass marketed films. Some things never change.

The Gordon book is a must read for any scholar interested in the question of popular culture. If one accepts Gordon's basic thesis that this form of marketing is not new, but just recycled in different and more prevalent forms, his thesis should come as no surprise to anyone. However, the strength of the work is clearly lodged in his analysis of comics. It remains for other scholars to examine the movies, popular literature and popular music, to name just three.

The major problem with this book is that it is just too short. Although he discusses a number of prominent cartoons, such as Gasoline Alley and Winnie Winkle, it is hard to contend that the process which he describes is somehow universal and all-penetrating. But, let us not detract from a good and readable work. As someone who dabbles in comic art myself, I can appreciate the immensity of the task that Ian Gordon faced. It is not that easy when one considers how limited the indices to these

kinds of work are. Let us hope that Gordon does not lose interest in the subject. It would be nice to anticipate a sequel, perhaps two.

>David R. Spencer, University of Western Ontario

American Photojournalism Comes of Age

Michael L. Carlebach, Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997. 222 pp.

American Photo magazine, in its September/October, 1996 issue, ran an extensive cover story asking, "Is photo-journalism dead?" In its lengthy subsequent spread, *American Photo* puzzled about such issues as the decline in magazine publication of serious photojournalism (and the resulting meager earnings made by many photojournalists), the exciting new possibilities opened by Internet home pages and art gallery walls, the reluctance of staid publishers to print graphic, hard-hitting photos, the crisis in management and mission being experienced by the big photo agencies, the competition posed by cable and digital TV, the growth of celebrity journalism at the expense of news photography, the growing expense of publishing books with large groups of images, the blurring of boundaries between news, documentary, and fine art photographs . . . the list is lengthy. Clearly, contemporary photojournalism is searching and redefining itself.

But not to worry. Michael Carlebach's book on the origins and development of photojournalism gives plenty of assurance that change in photojournalism is inevitable and that it usually is fueled by new technology and new ideas. Seen in the context of 1880 to 1936, Carlebach demonstrates that much of what is happening today is being recycled after a fashion. Lawrence Peter("Yogi") Berra's famous dictum, "It was deja vu all over again" comes to mind.

So, when contemporary photojournalists worry about the impact of digital retouching of photos, Carlebach shows us that fakes, retouching and "composographs" have been on the scene for decades. When a hue-and-cry is raised about paparazzi, Carlebach reminds us that concern for "in your face" photographers, telephoto lenses, and invasion of privacy is an old, old story (e.g, Harry Coleman's relentless 1920s stalking of industrialist and financier J. Pierpont Morgan in order to click *New York Journal* photos of J.P.'s "grossly inflamed and swollen" nose). When critics worry that increasing dependence upon visual communication will result in further deterioration of print literacy and an inevitable descent into the

bottomless pits of tastelessness, Carlebach's book shows them that elite, text-oriented intelligentsia opposition to visual communication is more than 100 years old and that current themes of opposition travel rather well-trod trails. (However, Carlebach emphasizes that photos necessarily depend upon text for meaningful interpretation.) When critics complain of politicians and staged pseudo-events as if this were a relatively recent phenomenon, the book points out that the canned photo-op was old when Theodore Roosevelt groomed and managed his "roughrider" image in 1898.

Further, recent charges that photos often emphasize the sordid, the sleazy, and the sanguinary side of human existence have an historic forerunner in photojournalists like New York City's Arthur Fellig ("Weegee"), who reveled in the seamy side of the naked city's underworld during the 1920s through the 1950s. The claim that contemporary photographs do not represent all segments of the population, but rather tend to focus on fresh-cheeked, supple-figured young people is shown to have been a common approach during yellow journalism days at the turn of the century. Similar complaints that today's press minimizes photographs of racial minorities doing well, but highlights wrongdoing by minorities also are shown to have precedents. The charge that recent photography is too much controlled by the press associations, syndicates, and chains is not new, either. Functionally equivalent collection and distribution agencies have been around since the late 1880s.

American Photojournalism Comes of Age is well-researched and well-written. Its four chronologically arranged chapters review familiar biographies and photo feats. For example, Chapter 3, "Photojournalism, Documentary and Reform" discusses the ideas and works of Jacob Riis, Edward S. Curtis, Lewis Wickes Hine, Roy Stryker and the Farm Security Administration photographers, and the Photo League. However, space also is given to the less well-known persons and events which deserve notice within the broad sweep of photojournalism history.

To illustrate, Chapter 1, "Photojournalism at the Turn of the Century," gives attention to Walter H. Horne, documenter of the Mexican Revolution and postcard entrepreneur, as well as to B. Lloyd Singley, founder of the Keystone View Company, which specialized in the stereographs which were so popular in late 19th and early 20th centuries. *American Photojournalism Comes of Age* alternates between sketching the broad sweep of historical epoch and relating of illustrative anecdotes, such as that of the ghoulish Hearst photographer who specialized in post mortem photography, originally related by Harry J. Coleman in his 1943 *Give Us A Little Smile, Baby* (New York: E. P. Dutton). Visually, 146

black-and-white reproductions accompany the text. Carlebach's careful search of the country's archives has given us fresh images from the past, such as the light-hearted scene of a passel of press photojournalists snapping a famous baby in a carriage on a sidewalk, contrasted with a single, studio-bound photographer laboriously making a camera-dominant portrait of a *Washington Star* editorial cartoonist. In another example, on a more somber note, we see a photographer working amid the ruins of a tornado which slammed into Kirksville, Missouri, in 1899.

This book also reproduces a handful of photos which have stopping power equivalent to any in today's cavalcade of images. For example, there is a grisly Boxer Rebellion-era stereograph image of a bound and bloody headless torso in the background while the Chinese executioner holds the severed head by the hair in the foreground (Chapter 2, Covering War). Another photo chronicles a dazed rescuer holding a limp, drowned baby from the Eastland steamer disaster in the Chicago River, 1915. These powerful images are precursors of recent images, such as those showing Somalians dragging an American soldier's body through the streets of Mogadiscio and the fireman's retrieval of a bloodied child's corpse from the Oklahoma City federal building bombing debris.

Chapter 4 (Tabloids, Magazines, and the Art of Photojournalism), being of a more recent era, contains visual icons familiar to almost every American: Charles Lindbergh posing in front of The Spirit of St. Louis before his May 20, 1927 Atlantic flight from New York to Paris and the Hindenburg zeppelin disaster at Lakehurst, New Jersey, on May 6, 1937, for example. Of equal historic interest will be the early attempts at photo essays, such as the *National Geographic*'s feature coverage of Alexander Graham Bell's experiments with kites and aviation early in the 20th century, the *Harper's Weekly* spread on Woodrow Wilson campaigning during the 1912 election, and *Time*'s informal glimpse of Franklin D. Roosevelt's activities in the 1935 Oval Office.

Carlebach's book points out that many photojournalists lose their personal identities amid historical effusion, but they live on, vicariously, through an image made during a single Cartier-Bresson decisive moment in their lives, as if that one picture was justification for their being. A healthy theme of Carlebach's book is the tension between photography as a utilitarian workhorse, serving up sturdy, routine, practical images of family members at their picnics, identification mugshots, newspaper handshakes, and pass-the-check publicity as contrasted with the cultured "do not touch" art gallery and museum thoroughbred of the species, the pictorial, artsy, soft-focused romantic fluff of visual dreams. Somewhere between these extremes are the truly wonderful photojournalistic images which live on and on because they have captured something of historical and human importance in a way that television, film, the graphic arts

poster, and other visual arts cannot: a compelling, and unforgettable still image which epitomizes its subject in a memorable and truthful way. That image which the viewer cannot forget is perhaps the lifelong quest of most photojournalists, past and present. And even when they fail, their results are usually something worth seeing.

Thus, Carlebach provides a viable answer to the *American Photo* question asked not long ago. "Is photojournalism dead?" Judging by its fascinating, vital, and lively past, the answer is "Hardly!" Carlebach did not address the following words specifically to the *American Photo* question, but his words are very relevant: "Today, in the new age of the illimitable information highway, the news photograph still has the power to mesmerize."

>Ronald E. Ostman, Cornell University

As Long As Sarajevo Exists

Kemal Kurspahic, Colleen London (trans.), Stony Creek, Connecticut: The Pamphleteer's Press, 1997. 248 pp.

This is the story of *Oslobodjenje* (Liberation), a Bosnian newspaper that received international fame and support for continuing to publish daily during the siege of Sarajevo from 1992-95, as told through the recollections of the paper's editor. The author, who spent the mid-1980s as the paper's New York correspondent, served as editor from 1988 until late February 1994, when he was sent to the United States as the newspaper's editor-correspondent, funded for a year as a Nieman Fellow at Harvard and then by a grant from the Tribune McCormick Foundation in Chicago. The book reflects Kemal Kurspahic's strong commitment to a free and independent press that must not be afraid to take a moral stand.

Kurspahic had the misfortune of writing his book at nearly the same time as National Public Radio correspondent Tom Gjelten was writing *Sarajevo Daily: A City & Its Newspaper Under Siege* (1995), a gripping narrative that interweaves the stories of *Oslobodjenje* and Sarajevo. Kurspahic's book, in contrast, is a memoir with a mission, describing the paper's commitment to truth and a multi-ethnic Bosnia. In a somewhat wooden translation, it tells not only the story of the paper, but the individual stories of heroism and tragedy of its Serb, Croatian and Bosnian Muslim staffers. Readers unfamiliar with South Slav names may find such parts inspiring, but unable to remember who's who. Kurspahic would certainly say that their witness must be recorded. (There is no index so that readers looking for information about specific individuals

will need to go through the book page by page. There is no bibliography either.)

His journalistic world is largely one of black and white, where there is no room for moral equivocation, although he recognizes that family pressures—including a staffer's love for family—can intrude on this world. It is difficult for any outsider to second-guess the decisions made by any of the Bosnian journalists under the stress of shelling, food shortages, the black market and often unheated living conditions. Kurspahic himself suffered a badly broken leg when the car in which he was riding crashed into a police car during a high-speed trip through Sniper's Alley.

The heart of the book is divided into three chapters. The first tells briefly the story of the paper from its founding in 1943 to its declaration of political independence in 1990 and culminating in the first free elections in November 1990 in which the nationalist parties emerged triumphant. Kurspahic seems uncomfortable as he refers to the earlier history of the paper under Communist rule.

Some journalists in Yugoslavia and elsewhere in the Communist-ruled countries developed identities as professionals even while the system demanded they serve the party. The police used informers on the newspaper staff to pressure the more independent-minded journalists. This was more than just "mediocre conformism and place-seeking and time-serving." This tricky subject between the system and the profession still awaits its historian since it requires understanding the compromises that almost every journalist had to make. Few of these journalists want to admit today that they once served the Communist cause in any way since it could threaten their livelihood, yet people such as Kurspahic were produced in this system and aspects of the Communist media culture persisted in the post-Communist period.

The second chapter describes the newspaper's efforts to remain independent while the society around it mostly divided into nationalist partisanship and the paper's opponents pointed to the financial subsidy it continued to receive from the government. Some of the paper's journalists left the staff, threatening its multi-ethnic diversity. The final chapter, which constitutes more than half the book, details the paper's heroic life under the siege, 1992-94, when the paper's circulation area shrank to the area of Sarajevo, when supplies of vital materials were limited and some staffers were killed.

This volume will be of greatest interest to free press apostles. It will also be of value to historians who study Yugoslavia, including historians of the media, who will find here factual details unavailable elsewhere. For

journalism historians generally, especially those interested in the international sphere, the book raises questions about the varying roles of the media under different social and political conditions. After all, newspapers historically have reflected their societies. They have been successful only to a limited degree in fomenting national or political hatred. Rather they have usually mirrored the divisions. In the case of Bosnia, these were not ancient hatreds, but 20th century ideas that were fomented by unscrupulous leaders and only weakly contested by opponents.

Just as 19th century newspaper readers in the United States did not know how to react at first to newspapers that sought to move away from a political mold, many Sarajevo readers in the 1990s must have responded in similar fashion to the 1990s *Oslobodjenje*. Kurspahic himself remarks that the elite who shared his views were much more receptive to the analysis and discussion in his paper than were the mass of the populace or the nationalist leaders. The goal of Kurspahic and most of his staff throughout the siege was to keep publishing to show their commitment to the journalistic profession and to a pluralist, multi-ethnic Bosnia Hercegovina. According to the 1995 Dayton accords, however, an integrated, diverse population has virtually disappeared. Much of the public continues to find an independent press difficult to understand in a highly politicized society. That might suggest that the paper failed in its mission, that under pressure of war, the multi-ethnic society receded, even while the journalists of *Oslobodjenje* fought for its existence.

The paper succeeded in two important ways, however. First, it remained virtually the sole form of public communication during much of the siege of Sarajevo. Even when a shortage of newsprint reduced the print run, the limited number of copies was shared around so that readers could ascertain what rumors were true and who had died. Cannons and tanks could not silence this freedom of expression. Second, the paper became a symbol to the international media community, and to the world at large, of the Bosnians' will to survive. Numerous international correspondents wrote about the paper, though few recognized that the society the paper wanted to promote was ceasing to exist. These articles helped generate numerous international media awards for the paper and its staff, which gave the English-speaking Kurspahic platforms abroad for promoting his country's cause and income and supplies to keep the paper alive.

Kurspahic and his paper were heroes in their time. Even if this book does not do justice to the complexity of the situation, it provides Kurspahic's valuable witness to his paper's efforts.

>Owen V. Johnson, Indiana University

The Carnivalization of Politics: Quebec Cartoons on Relations with Canada, England, and France, 1960-1979.

Raymond N. Morris, Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995. 148 pp.

Rather unexpectedly, reviewing this book doubled my fun. As is my custom, when I received the package in the mail from the book review editor, I quickly scanned the introduction. There I discovered that *The Carnivalization of Politics* is a sequel to an earlier work by the same author, *Behind the Jester's Mask: Canadian Editorial Cartoons About Dominant and Minority Groups*. So before beginning the new book, I checked the older one out of the library (It was published by the University of Toronto Press in 1989).

In *Behind the Jester's Mask*, Morris argues that political cartoonists play the role of the jesters of the modern bourgeoisie. Using editorial cartoons selected from a large collection representing newspapers from across Canada covering the years 1960 to 1979, he shows that the cartoonists consistently poked fun at the incompetence of the political system and politicians by portraying them as ineffective and foolish and by emphasizing the gaps between promise and performance. Modern cartoonists, unlike those who drew for newspapers in the 19th century, present themselves as non-partisan; they are equal-opportunity balloon-poppers, ridiculing all politicians equally. On the other hand, Morris argues, they never target businessmen or capitalism, and they falsely position politics and business as oppositional. Just as the court jester was the servant of the king, he suggests, these cartoonists are the agents of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois state, as of course are the newspapers in which they publish.

Morris moves beyond this argument in *The Carnivalization of Politics* by selecting and analyzing more closely the work of four Quebec cartoonists (three French and one English) on the subject of French-English relations, as well as on the relations of Quebec and Canada with England and France. As the title indicates, Morris conceptualizes these cartoons somewhat differently, by using the idea of carnivalization as developed by Mikhail Bakhtin. As in pure carnival, he argues, the cartoonists examined use such devices as inverting the social structure and comically exaggerating political rituals in order to suggest that all politicians are naive and impractical. Morris demonstrates, however, that probably the more appropriate term to describe these works is hyper-carnival, a reified, commercialized, more cynical form of carnival where the participants are professionals and the public only spectators.

Morris proceeds at several levels simultaneously. He works with groups of cartoons on a single subject (for example, the Queen's visit to

Quebec in 1964 or the referendum campaign of 1980) to decipher the metaphors that underlie the frame, message, content and form of the cartoons. Occasionally, this results in a "one drawing after another" tedium, but the summary arguments are conceptually rich and complex. One continuing metaphor is that of the unhappy but still married couple, English Canada the husband and Quebec the wife. England and France are the in-laws, and the language minorities (French in Canada and English in Quebec) the children. But other metaphors combine with and sometimes contradict this family one.

At one time or another the cartoonists portray all politicians as childish, associated with irresponsibility, incongruity, impulsiveness, and symbolic play. But childishness is also associated with nature, spontaneity, openness, and intuition. Most frequently these traits are ascribed to Quebec nationalist politicians, in contrast to the more reasoned, controlling, dominant, "cultured" adults—that is the federalists, specially the English. But the challenge of separatism also has the power to shake up the federalists, reducing them to a state of disorderliness, as shown in the Girerd cartoon depicted on the dust jacket, which portrays a very shaggy and disreputable English part-bulldog mongrel challenging its sophisticated and sleek French counterpart with the punning "Wolfe, Wolfe" and reacting with confusion and dismay at the French dog's witty riposte, "Montcalm." Moreover, the acquisition of power can turn a cartoonist's heroic Quebec politician into a devious fool very quickly. Thus, Morris' approach highlights nuances and subtleties, by drawing attention to the multiple metaphoric interactions occurring within each cartoon series.

The book has two weaknesses, in my view. The first is that the subtleties sometimes over take the message. Too often myriad contradictory readings are stated, but not resolved. Unfortunately as well, the reader's ability to sort out the confusion is limited because the vast majority of the cartoons are described rather than reproduced, presumably for financial reasons.

The editorial cartoons on which Morris bases his analysis concern Canadian political events during the 1960s and 1970s. Those without a good knowledge of Canadian politics may occasionally find themselves puzzled. Although the author makes a valiant attempt to place the cartoons within historical context, this is necessarily so briefly sketched that it may be insufficient for non-Canadian readers. Nevertheless, Morris' general analytical approach is interesting and rich enough that not only can it be widely applied but it will inspire readers to attempt to do so. Anyone seriously interested in editorial cartoon analysis should read this book.

>Mary Vipond, Concordia University

Darwinian Myths: The Legends and Misuses of a Theory

Edward Caudill, Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997. 208 pp.

Charles Darwin's theory of evolution not only revolutionized the world of science but was put to myriad uses as well. Stretched to apply to social relations, it served as the underpinning of the eugenics movement, which sought to improve humanity by encouraging selective breeding. Shortly thereafter Nazi Germany perverted the theory by using it to help justify state-enforced natural selection. Edward Caudill's book describes these and other uses and misuses of Darwin's theory—and particularly the social Darwinism espoused by philosopher Herbert Spencer—since the publication of *On the Origin of Species* in 1859. In the process, Caudill, Professor of Journalism at the University of Tennessee, debunks many of these Darwinian myths while explaining their importance in American culture.

The book is of particular importance to media historians because press accounts played such a large role in shaping the myths that grew out of Darwinism. Caudill begins by explaining how Thomas Huxley and Joseph Hooker, two of Darwin's closest allies in science, engaged in a concerted effort to further the acceptance of the theory of evolution in the popular and scientific press. Huxley, nicknamed "Darwin's bulldog," used this campaign to advance his own reputation in the world of science. Darwin himself stayed in the background for these media battles but offered encouragement and advice to his allies. Huxley and Hooker not only wrote articles but spoke frequently about Darwin's work, and consequently evolution was widely accepted by scientific elites a few years after Darwin first wrote about natural selection.

Huxley's "debate" with an Anglican clergyman at an 1860 meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science spawned a Darwinian myth. In scientific circles, the exchange between Huxley and Bishop Samuel Wilberforce was mythologized as a turning point in the evolution-creation debate. In a long speech, Wilberforce attacked evolution and closed by ridiculing Huxley with a pointed question: On which side of his family, his grandmother's or his grandfather's, was he descended from an ape? "If I had to choose," Huxley replied, according to one account, "between being descended from an ape or a man who would use his great powers of rhetoric to crush an argument, I should prefer the former."

Huxley's remark and subsequent defense of Darwinism eventually became a symbol of the triumph of science over religion. Both Darwin's and Huxley's sons, in collecting their fathers' papers, helped to mythologize the encounter. Until recently, historians accepted their accounts. But

Caudill explains, in a chapter that could serve as a text for research methods students, that the historical record shows a much more inconclusive result. Nonetheless, the myth remains important for the insight it offers into how myth-making can serve one group's ends.

After exploding this and several other Darwinian myths, Caudill explains how Darwin's theories were misused in the 20th century, particularly as they were employed to serve as the basis for the social Darwinism espoused by philosopher Herbert Spencer. Even though Darwin himself had never applied his theory of natural selection to the social arena, his theories nonetheless lent scientific credence to movements based on social Darwinism. Caudill devotes one chapter to the growth of the eugenics movement in the early 20th century, showing how Darwinism was twisted and misapplied to justify xenophobic and racist goals. Eugenicists, like Darwin's disciples before them, were experts at using the media to further their ideas. The American Eugenics Society embarked on an ambitious publicity campaign in the 1920s and 1930s to promote their movement. By the beginning of World War II, their campaign was declining in America, but in Nazi Germany, another mutated version of social Darwinism was thriving to serve as the intellectual underpinning of Aryan supremacy and the extermination of the Jews.

Caudill, who has written a previous book about Darwinism and the press, convincingly explains the power of Darwinian myths in American culture. The book would be valuable for teachers of both media history and historical research. Both will appreciate Caudill's meticulous use of historical sources to demonstrate the building of myths, as well as the author's use of evidence to debunk them.

>David R. Davies, University of Southern Mississippi

The Electronic Grapevine: Rumor, Reputation and Reporting in the New On-line Environment

Diane L. Borden and Kerric Harvey (eds.), Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1998. 200 pp.

Of all the "revolutions"—technological, sociological, economic and otherwise—that have swept through the nation's newsrooms in the last decade or so, it now appears that few will have as long-lasting an impact on both the production and consumption of journalism as the Internet. While the exact long-term effects of this ongoing transformation are still anyone's guess, this anthology of essays, edited by George Mason

University's Diane L. Borden and Kerric Harvey of George Washington University, is an excellent starting point for any discursive engagement with many of the important questions.

Like many solid anthologies, the 12 essays included in *The Electronic Grapevine* are a self-reinforcing blend of analysis and anecdote, theory and practice. By deliberately employing a structure which intertwines theoretical overviews with cogent case studies, the resulting combination is a thoughtful explication of likely causes and possible effects. And in doing so, it invites the reader to embark on an exploration of a number of fundamental journalistic issues—many of which, though arguably decades in gestation, are clearly writ large by the recent advent of the Internet.

Perhaps the most essential questions speak to the very heart of journalism's intrinsic professional claim to credibility and credulity. Within the established customs and practices of the reportorial craft, how do we know what we know? More problematic, how do we know what we know is true? And now, how is the Internet changing what we know, how we know it and even, perhaps, what we mean by true? "It's hard enough to do journalism," the book's editors write, "when you can actually get your hands on what it takes to do so, when you can reread that press release or sense that your interview subject is lying to you by the way he keeps twisting paper clips into little gnarled metal pretzels as you talk. Imagine the quantum leap in the challenges presented by traditional journalism when, suddenly, everything physical goes out of it."

As the work's subtitle suggests, matters related to rumor and reputation take on a heightened significance in the world of on-line journalism. Two essays in particular cast the issues into sharp relief. "Cyberspace: A Consensual Hallucination" by Jason Primuth, executive producer overseeing content on a local CBS affiliate's website, explores some of the not-so-obvious implications of the essential anonymity of the virtual world. And as an elegantly analytical complement to the ground truths presented in Primuth's work, "Cyber Libel: Time to Flame the Times Standard" by Diane Borden presents the legal and sociocultural constructs required to frame a much-needed discussion of what may or may not constitute defamation in the on-line environment.

A strong candidate for the most useful essay in the collection, however, might be "Journalists' Use of On-Line Technology and Sources" by Columbia University's Steven S. Ross. Since the early 1990s, Ross has not only tracked the influence of information technology on journalism but is also widely credited with a defining role in the origination, practice and pedagogy of computer-assisted reporting. In his contribution to this anthology, he reports the results of a survey of almost 4,000 newspapers and magazines, inquiring into their growing comfort with (reliance

upon?) the Internet as an information source. As both a rigorously quantitative benchmark and revealing snapshot of prevailing practices, the study is must-reading for anyone, scholar or practitioner, who wants to understand what is actually happening in the nation's newsrooms—in effect, the "real" reality of journalism's struggle with the virtual kind.

>David Abrahamson, Northwestern University

Masterpieces of Reporting: Volume 1

Wm. David Sloan and Cheryl S. Wray (eds.), Northport, Alabama: Vision Press 1997. 473 pp.

Masterpieces of Reporting, Volume 1, carries the promise that further volumes of anthologies of great American reporting will follow in future years. One hopes these editors remain true to that intention, for this is indeed a collection that comes close to fulfilling its hyperbolic back cover lines that the book contains "The Greatest Stories American Newspapers Have Ever Produced."

Editors Wm. David Sloan and Cheryl S. Wray have done a superb job of selecting their 70 "masterpieces" of American newspaper journalism from among thousands of possibilities. Their choices span a range of American history from the pre-Civil War years to the 1990s and cover spot news, narrative and descriptive writing, profiles, investigative and analytical writing. Some of the pieces, such as Henry Morton Stanley's 1872 *New York Herald Tribune* story about the search for David Livingstone, and sports writer Grantland Rice's 1924 immortalization of Notre Dame's "Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse" are well-known classics that most certainly belong in an anthology that bills itself as a collection of masterpieces. Other stories, such as the 1994 Pulitzer prize account of Rwanda's ghastly "village of death" written by the Associated Press' Mark Fritz, and *The New York Times*' 1994 coverage of the funeral of Jacqueline Bouvier Kennedy are new classics that well deserve the honor of a place in this anthology.

The selections in this anthology have one unifying theme—excellent writing that produces compelling, resonant stories that stand the test of time. The editor's introductory chapter on what makes good newspaper writing is worth as much as the newspaper stories that follow and will serve as excellent reading for senior feature writing classes. Good writing, say Sloan and Wray, is writing that achieves its purpose of informing and interesting the reader. They proclaim that journalistic writing can be 'wonderful! . . . engrossing, poignant, dramatic and moving."

In producing *Masterpieces of Reporting*, Sloan and Wray have indeed achieved their purpose of both informing and interesting this reader. The question that remains for the future is whether they can sustain the level of this work in future volumes. One can only hope.

>Kathy English, Ryerson Polytechnical University

War of the Black Heavens: The Battles of Western Broadcasting in the Cold War

Michael Nelson, Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1997. 300 pp.

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the demise of Communism have rightfully led to an explosion of literature explaining these once inexplicable events. Yet not until War of the Black Heavens has there been a sustained attempt to end the Cold War on a mass media note. Energetically written and prodigiously researched, Nelson's account goes a long way—but not the full distance—toward persuading readers that Western radio transmissions were what finally brought Communism to its knees. It is a stunning exploration of Radio Free Europe (RFE), the Voice of America, Radio Liberty, and the BBC, and a certain jumping-off point for more media-related studies of this defining moment in 20th century affairs.

Nelson, a retired manager and correspondent for Reuters, scores a 10-strike with his extensive documentation. A principal feature is the book's application of records and materials from the files of the Soviet Communist Party. Drawing from these sources and nearly 50 interviews, Nelson brings to light the Soviets' intense fears about RFE and the other services. And he adds to the intrigue with new evidence the Soviets shot themselves in the foot. This was because the Soviet factions most concerned about Western radio broadcasts were the same ones who urged the continued manufacture of short-wave radios.

The book is most penetrating in its examination of Soviet jamming practices. According to Nelson's figures, not millions but billions were spent by Communist leaders to shield citizens from Western radio. At issue are not just news and information but the "forbidden" fruits of Western popular culture. In retrospect the image of the "iron curtain" seems more formidable than ever. Yet the book has two shortcomings.

First, as unlikely as such an observation may seem, it is too historical. Most of the content reaches back to the opening phases of the Cold War, with relatively little discussion pegged to the climatic events between

1989 and 1991. Second, largely because of its distant perspective, the book's central argument—that Western radio superseded all other factors including the economy in driving the masses into the streets—is hard to accept. Here Nelson falls into a familiar media history trap, that media institutions and media delivery are not the same as media effects. This is one of those books that raises the question of effects, and then answers it with exquisite accounts of happenings behind the scenes.

By no means, though, should the book be discounted. The new source work alone is worth the reader's attention. Perhaps above all is Nelson's fortitude in waging his collapse-of-Communism thesis. Even if his radio-did-it-all explanation is tempered down the road, he will have made a contribution by stating the essential case.

>Craig Allen, Arizona State University

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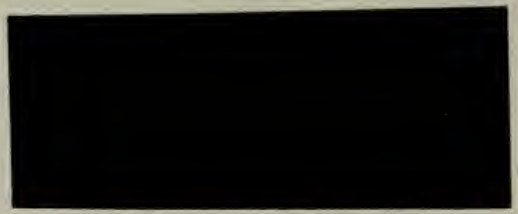

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Editor's Note

Less than 24 hours after the AJHA Board approved my appointment as editor of *American Journalism*, Rodger Streitmatter and I sat down to discuss this special issue of the journal. That was more than two years ago, and I'm delighted to see that Rodger's vision for a special issue is finally in print.

Rodger has, of course, written widely on topics such as African American media and gay media and has contributed several excellent books and articles on these and other related topics. So at our meeting I asked Rodger to edit a special issue on diversity in media history, but Rodger had other ideas.

"While I'm certainly interested in the topic of diversity," Rodger said tactfully, "I'm becoming more and more intrigued by the conservative media." Dissident media, he said, in many cases was responding to attacks, yet much less had been written about the attacks that sparked the rebellions.

And so, the five articles published in this issue grew from Rodger's valuable insight about new scholarship that could enhance and expand our understanding of the context in which change happens. My thanks to the authors who submitted their articles for publication and, of course, to Rodger for the dedicated, conscientious care he gave the manuscripts and their authors.

Shirley Biagi
Editor

Conservative Media: A Different Kind of Diversity

By Rodger Streitmatter, Guest Editor

When future historians attempt to identify the major trends that defined the United States in the final decades of the 20th century, one word that is sure to be on every scholar's list is *diversity.*

From the President's Cabinet to my daughter's high school pom-pom squad, the myriad institutions and organizations that make up this nation have, in the last few decades, made considerable progress toward recognizing the value of reflecting the eclectic nature of our population.

American journalism history has been very much in concert with this trend. In the last few years, an enormous quantity of research has illuminated the contributions of women and men who previously had been either ignored or marginalized at least partially because of their gender, race, ethnicity, class or sexual orientation.

When it comes to another form of diversity, however, the record has not been so strong. The aspect I have in mind may best be suggested by the term "ideological diversity." More specifically, we scholars have made great strides toward expanding the body of knowledge, I would argue, related to the genetic characteristics of journalists, but we have not always paid sufficient attention to the range of ideological perspectives that also have been represented by the men and women who have contributed to the media's evolution.

Oh yes, we have been eager to chronicle how progressive the American news media have been. How often have we read that a particular reporter, editor, newspaper, or television network was "out in front" in opposing the Vietnam War or in supporting civil rights?

But how often have any of us read—or written—that a particular journalist or news organization was *a firm and committed believer in the status quo*? How often, in other words, have we committed our intellectual time and energy to documenting that many newsmen and newswomen have used their talent and the power of their positions to fight either to hold society exactly where it is or to push society toward a time gone by?

And yet, are these individuals and organizations not also part of the American journalistic experience? Do not their ideas and efforts—even if they make some of us more than a bit uncomfortable—also deserve a place in the historical record that documents the depth, the complexities, and the texture of this nation's media?

The articles contained in this theme issue of *American Journalism* seek to make a contribution to the effort to celebrate diversity by illuminating some aspects of conservatism that are part of the heritage of the American media.

In the first essay, Ford Risley provides a diamond-sharp analysis of the 1850s editorial voice of William Tappan Thompson of the *Savannah Morning News*. Although Thompson insisted that his paper was "neutral and independent" on political issues, Ford shows that the paper was an ardent supporter of the traditional values of the South—including continued dependence on slavery.

The second article, by W. Joseph Campbell, provides a revisionist interpretation of Raleigh *News and Observer* editor Josephus Daniels. In his gracefully written piece, Joe examines the editorial content of Daniels' paper at the turn of the century to show that the editor was not "one of the fine figures of American journalism" that other historians have characterized him as being, but was, in fact, a race-baiting white supremacist. (Incidentally, because Joe Campbell and I are from the same university, *American Journalism* editor Shirley Biagi shepherded this manuscript through the review process; I do not even know the names of the individuals who reviewed the manuscript.)

Carolyn Kitch next moves us forward to the 1920s with an engaging study of *The Saturday Evening Post* and *Good Housekeeping*. Carolyn's highly-textured rhetorical analysis argues, and persuasively so, that these two immensely popular publications attempted to erase from the American consciousness the identity of people who possessed characteristics inconsistent with "the ideal family" as defined by the country's dominant social and political forces.

Finally, Susan Weill provides an exhaustive examination of the editorial and news content of all 20 daily newspapers being published in Mississippi in the wake of the 1954 *Brown* v. *Board of Education* decision by the US Supreme Court. Sue's study found that, despite the mandate by the highest court in the land that segregation cease, Mississippi's daily press continued to insist that American society was not ready to be integrated and that blacks were by no means equal to whites.

As I attempted to identify common threads in the four studies, the theme that came bursting to the surface is that all of them involve, either directly or indirectly, the exact same issue: race. From the debate about slavery in the 1850s to the strikingly similar one about segregation in the 1960s, the American news media have struggled—these essays on conservatism once again show—with the single issue that, more than any other, has continued to confound this nation throughout its history.

Regarding what this theme issue does not contain, all of the articles consider how conservative ideology has been manifested in the *main-*

stream media. So, I regret, there are no articles on the history or impact of overtly conservative *alternative* media. This dearth is consistent with my own experience.

My next book will be a history of American dissident presses. In searching for scholarly studies on the subject, I found material about networks of dissident publications with a progressive bent—such as the presses founded to advance the women's rights and counterculture movements—but virtually nothing about presses that bore a conservative stripe—such as those created to oppose immigration in the late 1900s or to support the growth of the New Right in more recent decades. Perhaps ***American Journalism*** will publish a future issue dedicated to research on such ideologically conservative dissident presses.

I want to finish this editor's note by thanking Shirley Biagi for her expert and generous guidance and by thanking the several dozen reviewers who helped enormously with this issue by providing their thoughtful, sensitive, and prompt—for the most part!—feedback to the authors whose work is included here.

Call for Manuscripts
The Buzz: Technology in Journalism and Mass Communication History

American Journalism, the quarterly journal of the American Journalism Historians Association, announces a call for manuscripts for a special theme issue focusing on technology and history.

The issue, edited by David T. Z. Mindich, called The Buzz: Technology in Journalism and Mass Communication History, is scheduled for Fall 2000. The deadline for submissions is February 1, 2000.

The theme of technology is inclusive. Topics could include but are not limited to:

- how printing, the telegraph, or other devices changed or challenged journalism;
- implicit comparisons between older technologies and newer ones, including ways in which the public viewed future technology;
- the role of technology in formulating or reformulating minority communities.

The term "technology" itself could be approached in several ways, including electronic, electric, and pre-electric (including printing) communication aids. Manuscripts that include graphics and/or photographs are encouraged.

Manuscripts should follow the *American Journalism* guidelines for submissions, and be sent to:

David T. Z. Mindich
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Saint Michael's College
Colchester, VT 05439

For more information, please contact Mindich at dmindich@smcvt.edu or phone (802) 654-2637.

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The Savannah *Morning News* As a Penny Paper: Independent, But Hardly Neutral

By Ford Risley

The Savannah Morning News *was founded in 1850 as a penny paper, one of a new breed of American newspapers determined to, among other things, be "neutral and independent" in politics. Yet while its founders liked to proclaim the neutrality of the paper, a close reading of the* Morning News *during the decade of the 1850s reveals a conservative journal like so many others in the Antebellum South. Although the* News *initially followed many of the practices of the penny press, its outspoken editor could not keep the paper out of the political arena, particularly the debate over slavery. Significantly, the* News *achieved financial independence from political parties through its business practices, but its editor could never divorce himself from the conservative partisanship that was so much a part of the South at mid-century.*

When the news of John Brown's execution reached Savannah, Georgia, on December 2, 1859, William Tappan Thompson of the Savannah *Morning News* could hardly contain his joy. Years of anger toward the hated abolitionists of the North boiled over as the editor sat down at his desk and penned a rare front-page editorial for his daily newspaper. Brown's "ignominious death" was a fitting close to an "infamous life," Thompson wrote in describing the leader of the failed raid on Harper's Ferry. Might Brown's fate at the gallows, he declared, "be the fate of the craven-hearted instigators and plotters of treason which he so recklessly endeavored to execute?" More-

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over, Thompson added, "There are thousands of white-craved necks in New England and the Northern states, today, that are as deserving of John Brown's hempen tie . . ."[1]

Such an editorial was hardly surprising in a Southern newspaper as the decade of the 1850s drew to a close. The region's editors had been among the most outspoken defenders of slavery and Southern rights, defending the South's status quo.[2] Yet Thompson's strident rhetoric was seemingly out of place in a newspaper that earlier in the decade had prided itself as being "neutral and independent" in politics.

The *Morning News* had been founded as a so-called "penny paper," one of a small, but growing number of daily newspapers determined to, among other things, break the partisan ties that had long been the lifeblood of the American press. Borrowing words from their penny brethren, the founders of the *Morning News* declared in their inaugural issue:

> The *Morning News* will be emphatically a *Commercial Newspaper*, devoted to the diffusion of useful information of subjects of popular interest, and to the advancement of City and State interest, generally; preserving at all times a strictly neutral and *independent* position in regard to Politics and Parties.[3]

Conservative Partisanship

Yet while Thompson liked to proclaim the neutrality of his newspaper, a close reading of the *Morning News* during the 1850s reveals a conservative journal like so many others in the Antebellum South.[4] Although the *Morning News* initially followed many practices of the penny press, including its pricing structure and emphasis on news, its editor could not keep the paper out of the political arena.

As the economic, political, and social future of the South were being debated, Thompson weighed in time and again on the editorial page of the *Morning News*, consistently arguing the need for the South to maintain its traditional way of life, particularly the "peculiar institution" of slavery. Significantly, the *Morning News* achieved financial independence from political parties through its business practices, but its editor could never divorce himself from the conservative partisanship that was so much a part of the South at mid-century.[5]

Political partisanship had long been one of the distinguishing marks of the American press. With relatively small readership and little advertising, newspapers of the Early Republic and Party periods relied heavily on political patronage to survive financially. Struggling editors often were

more than happy to tout a political party's views and, in return, party leaders helped pay the cost of publishing the six-cent sheets.[6] Beginning in the 1830s, however, mass-circulation "penny papers," as they often were known, emerged in New York and other major eastern cities, directed at a mass audience of middle- and working-class readers.

Led by the New York *Sun* and the New York *Herald*, these innovative journals did not receive party patronage and instead were supported by advertising and circulation. Following the example of the *Sun* and the *Herald*, many pennies regularly proclaimed themselves to be politically neutral and independent, largely as a way to distinguish themselves from their partisan and mercantile rivals.[7] Although early scholarship on the penny press contended that the pennies were indeed neutral in politics, more recent studies have suggested this was not always the case and that, in fact, some newspapers remained very much partisan.[8] The content of the pennies also differed. Whereas their six-cent rivals emphasized political and mercantile news, the penny papers focused on general interest news, especially crime stories.

The penny press phenomena was largely centered in major, eastern cities. However, a few newspapers south of the Mason-Dixon Line tried to emulate their success. In New Orleans, the *Picayune* debuted in 1837, consciously modeling itself after the *Sun* and *Herald*.[9] That same year, the founders of the Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, the first penny paper outside of New York, sought to duplicate the success by founding the *Baltimore Sun*.[10] In 1850, the Richmond *Dispatch* began publishing, patterning itself after the Baltimore *Sun*. In the manner of its predecessors, the *Dispatch* declared itself "devoted to the interest of the city and free and independent in its political views."[11]

William Tappan Thompson also admired the success of the *Baltimore Sun* and decided he, too, wanted to emulate it in the South. Born in Ohio in 1812, Thompson had apprenticed as a printer's devil in Philadelphia. He then traveled south to Florida as a legal secretary, before returning to journalism with Augustus Baldwin Longstreet in publishing the *States Rights Journal* in Augusta, Georgia. After three years with Longstreet, Thompson turned to a literary career and made several attempts to establish literary journals that emphasized Southern culture. None of the journals proved successful, but he achieved some literary recognition with the creation of his colorful character, "Major Jones."[12]

Unsuccessful at publishing a literary journal in the Deep South, Thompson moved to Baltimore and made one more try, this time with the *Western Continent*. As with his earlier attempts, Thompson's goal with the journal was to defend the South and disseminate Southern philosophy but once again, the idea failed. While in Baltimore, however, Thompson

witnessed the success of a penny paper. Along with businessman John Cooper, he decided to start such a newspaper back in Savannah, Georgia.[13]

In the mid-19th century, Savannah was the state's best-known city, the leading commercial and port center south of Charleston. Although it was the largest city in Georgia, with a population of 15,312, Savannah was still small by the standards of other cities in the North and South where penny papers had been started. Moreover, Savannah already had two well-established dailies, the Democratic *Loyal Georgian* and the *Daily Republican*, a Whig sheet.[14]

Guided by "neutrality, independence and industry"

Nonetheless, on January 15, 1850, Thompson and Cooper published the first issue of the *Morning News*, declaring it would be guided by the principles of "neutrality, independence, and industry." Published Monday through Saturday, its goal would be to give readers "a cheap, reliable, and comprehensive newspaper, and to the business man an advertising medium through which he may reach all classes of the community." A prospectus in the first issue outlined the success of the penny press in other eastern cities, newspapers sold at a price "so low as to place them within the reach of all," thus making them "the best mediums for the general diffusion of information on all subjects bearing upon the interests of the community." Thompson and Cooper announced:

> We have determined to publish the *Daily Morning News* as nearly as possible upon the plan of the penny press of the Northern cities. The *Morning News* will be emphatically a *Commercial Newspaper*, devoted to the diffusion of useful information of subjects of popular interest, and to the advancement of City and State interest, generally; preserving at all times a strictly neutral and independent position in regard to Politics and Parties.[15]

Indeed, the *Morning News* was different from Savannah's existing newspapers in several respects. The most obvious were its price and distribution practices. Readers in the city for the first time could buy individual copies of a local newspaper instead of being forced to buy semi-annual or annual subscriptions. Single copies of the *Morning News* sold for two cents and could be purchased on the street or at the newspaper's office. At $4, the annual subscription rate of the *Morning News* also was considerably less than Savannah's other two dailies.

The price structure apparently struck a chord with readers because less than three weeks after the *Morning News* began publishing, Thompson and Cooper claimed that it already had a greater circulation than Savannah's two other dailies.[16] "We may add that our circulation is confined to no party and to no class," they wrote. "We are gratified to know that the *Morning News* finds a welcome in the lady's parlor as well as in the counting room of the merchant and the work-shop of the mechanic." At the end of February, Thompson and Cooper announced that circulation still was increasing and that they had to increase the number of carriers from three to seven.[17]

The *Morning News* also was generally successful in its avowed goal of carrying "useful information . . . of popular interest." During its first few months of publishing, the newspaper reported on the completion of gas lighting downtown, the dedication of a new Methodist church, and the opening of the Athenaeum theater's new season.[18] Savannah's big May Day celebration was thoroughly covered.[19] The *Morning News* also carried a lengthy story about a cashier who allegedly defrauded a local bank of $100,000.[20] Businessmen no doubt liked regular features such as ship arrivals and departures, arriving passengers, daily market prices, and announcements of imports and exports.

The staff of the *Morning News* also showed they were adept at handling big breaking news stories. For example, Thompson made special arrangements to have news of a major fire in Macon telegraphed directly to the *Morning News.* Although lacking much detail, the story still included a list of all buildings damaged or destroyed and a map of the area.[21] In April, the biggest fire in more than 30 years consumed dozens of buildings in Savannah. The fire began after midnight and was raging three hours later when the *Morning News* went to press. Even so, the editor and his staff still managed to carry a brief story that included a list of the buildings damaged or destroyed. The next day the *Morning News* carried a far more complete story with details of the fire.[22]

Morning News Adopts Sensationalism

The *Morning News* also took a cue from other penny papers, which found that sensationalism appealed to many readers.[23] Most of the news items came from Northern exchange papers—and the more gruesome the story, the better. For example, a story bearing the headline "Murder Instead of Marriage" told of a young man who was shot and killed by a father who disapproved of his daughter marrying the youth.[24] There also was the news of a bridesmaid whose dress caught fire before the wedding ceremony. The terrified woman began running and soon became engulfed in flames, startling the company gathered.[25]

As was customary in an era of personal journalism, the *Morning News* clearly reflected its editor's interests in literature, art, music, and the social set. Thompson duly noted the arrival of a new edition of *Harper's Monthly* every month. No theatre or musical production appeared in Savannah without a story and, often, a review. Monthly book reviews always received prominent play. And Thompson made sure to give at least some mention of the various parties, balls, and other events of Savannah's social set.[26] The editor even occasionally inserted some of his own humorous fiction in the *Morning News*.

At least initially, the *Morning News* largely steered clear of politics in its editorial columns, maintaining its much-ballyhooed neutrality and independence. Instead, Thompson often used the space to express civic pride, praising the beauty of Savannah and promoting the city as the ideal place to live and conduct business. Occasionally, he would express his moral indignation against popular novels of low-life, the miracle cures being peddled by some merchants, and the news that a big cockfight was to be held in Savannah.[27]

However, most of Thompson's editorials were more like the one about "Lover's Lane" in which he praised city officials for making long-overdue improvements to the popular roadway. "We are pleased to learn from the report of the Proceedings of the Council last night, that Lover's Lane has been rendered passable for vehicles," Thompson wrote. "We hope that we shall have no more complaints of the miserable condition of the road, which for some times past made this pleasant drive almost impassable. 'The course of true love never does run smoothly,' but that is no reason why Lover's Lane shouldn't."[28]

Yet even in its first year of publishing, there were signs in the *Morning News* that Thompson was not going to be able to maintain neutral about politics, especially the growing debate over slavery's future in the South. The editor had been largely silent regarding the debate over the Compromise of 1850. However, the *Morning News* had only been publishing for a couple months when Thompson declared support for a convention of Southern states to be held in Nashville to discuss the activities of Northern abolitionists. Thompson was not as ready as some to offer voters a choice between secession and submission, but he argued the convention was a vital step toward protecting the South's interests.

Thompson criticized Whig journals in the state that claimed there was a lack of interest by Georgians in a convention. The editor admitted there was "no excitement" in the state to meet, but he argued the South needed to send a message of unity to the North. "On the question of resistance to the Northern aggression there is no division at the South," he declared, "and whether there be a convention or not the north may rest assured that the Southern people will submit to no further wrong."[29]

Despite the compromise, secessionists in several states, including Georgia, decided to press the issue and call for a state convention. Georgia Governor George W. Towns called for the election of a special state convention to meet in December. As with the Nashville convention, Thompson could not sit idly by. In several editorials, he did not go so far as to urge secession but argued that state unity necessitated a convention. Thompson also drew the line against what was quickly becoming his biggest rival in Savannah, the *Republican*. He criticized his Whig counterpart who he claimed wanted to "preserve his party affinities with the North, regardless of all consequences to his own section" and who believed there was no alternative for the South, "but that of submission or disunion." Thompson argued that only by unity could the wrongs of the South be redressed. Discord, on the other hand, would "invite further aggression from our enemies. If disunion is to follow proper constitutional resistance to wrong, on the part of the Southern people, then let the responsibility of it rest upon the wrong-doers, and not upon the South."[30]

Growing support in Congress later in the year for a proposal to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia was a clear indication of the growing abolitionist influence, Thompson wrote, and that the "enemy" was preparing to "attack the citadel." The South had no choice but to unite for the common defense and "prepare for the final struggle," he argued adding, "The only hope for the Union of the States is the Union of the South."[31]

Thompson was especially concerned with what he saw as the "whirlwind of fanatacism" being spread by abolitionists in the North. He claimed in one editorial that abolitionists already had seized the political agenda and were posing a grave threat to the peculiar institution. The South had to take action on its own behalf, he wrote. "Northern opposition is now, we fear, too feeble to crush the hydra-headed monster, which must either prey upon the South or retrieve its death blow at our hands."[32] Thompson also showed he had little tolerance for freedom of speech or the press, if it protected abolitionist agitators. Although everyone was entitled to their opinions, he argued, "opinions dangerous to the peace of the community, had better be held strictly as the private property of their possessors . . ."[33]

Such sober thoughts were set aside as the *Morning News* celebrated its first anniversary in January 1851. The management of the newspaper marked the occasion by expanding the paper's size by about one-third. The new five-column format provided more room for news and advertis-

ing and also allowed the newspaper to increase its type size.[34] At the same time, the *Morning News* introduced a new front-page vignette on its nameplate featuring scenes from Savannah: the port, ships, a train, and prominent buildings, along with the Georgia coat of arms. Later in the year, the *Morning News* purchased a new Hoe cylinder power press capable of printing 1,500 sheets an hour. It was one more indication of the success of the *Morning News*, Thompson bragged to readers.

Indeed, by the first anniversary of publication, the *Morning News* could justifiably claim a successful debut. It had become the most widely read newspaper in Savannah; many issues overflowed with advertising. It remained one of the cheapest papers in the state and the only one that offered single-copy sales.[35] The *Morning News* could not claim the kind of extensive or lively news reporting that many other penny papers could, but its coverage of Savannah certainly was respectable.

Thompson, however, clearly was finding it harder to maintain the widely proclaimed independence and neutrality of the *Morning News*. While it was true the *Morning News* did not overtly support one party or another, it was increasingly evident the paper was in no way neutral when it came to the interests of the South. In this respect, the *Morning News* was no different than most Southern newspapers. Indeed, the debate over slavery increasingly was at the centrality of Southern thought.[36]

Showing his conservative stripes, Thompson always gave prominent play to news of the increasing abolitionist activity in the North, often inserting his own editorial comments about what it meant to the future of slavery and the South. He expressed outrage at seeing a copy of William Lloyd Garrison's controversial newspaper, *The Liberator*. Ignoring the obvious threats to a free press, he called on Southern postmasters to refuse to distribute the abolitionist journal.[37] Thompson even saw danger lurking in less-threatening sources. When the southern wing of the Methodist Church sued the northern wing, Thompson expressed grave doubt that the Southerners could get justice in a northern court with its "strong prejudice" against the region.[38]

The *Morning News* and the *Republican* regularly traded insults over the different views each held about the future course of the South on sectional issues. In this sense, they were no different from the rival party papers in so much of 19th century America.[39] While the *Republican's* editor was adept at name calling, Thompson was every bit his equal. In one editorial, Thompson compared his rival at various times to both a rabid dog and a slanderous woman. Thompson claimed the *Republican* had misrepresented the views of the *Morning News* and that readers knew where his paper stood on important issues.[40]

Indeed, the *Morning News* continued to enjoy a larger circulation than its Savannah rivals. Perhaps bolstered by this fact, management

raised the paper's single-copy price to three cents early in 1852, although the weekly, monthly, and annual subscription prices remained the same.[41] An indication of the success of the *Morning News* is that later in the year a new journal joined the newspaper lineup in Savannah. The Savannah *Courier* copied many of the practices of the *Morning News*, most notably its pricing structure. Notably, however, the *Courier* announced it would be independent, but not neutral in politics.[42]

Thompson Supports Secession

As talk increasingly turned to the 1852 presidential race, Thompson was concerned that abolitionists would seek to exert their growing influence. He saw grave threats in the activities of various northern anti-slavery societies, especially the increasingly controversial Fugitive Slave Law. Already, he wrote, it had become clear that the majority of Northerners were resolved on the repeal of the law. In view of this, he asked, "is it not the duty of the South to be prepared for the worst, and to assume a firm, resolute, and unmistakable position on this question?"

Georgians, he declared, must "make no further concessions to free-soil fanaticism . . . A Presidential contest is at hand. Parties are maneuvering for position. Now is the time for Georgia to test the sincerity, the patriotism of the North." The Compromise of 1850 must be upheld, he argued. And if not, Thompson wrote that Southerners should be prepared "to resist even to the disruption of every tie that binds us to the Union." While not embracing secession, Thompson had joined the ranks of Southerners who publicly supported the doctrine that secession was a valid constitutional remedy, applicable in appropriate circumstances. In so doing, he made his supposedly neutral newspaper increasingly political and increasingly Democratic.[43]

Meanwhile, in its news columns, the *Morning News* continued to report the news taking place in Savannah: the arrival of a new fire engine; a lost child found in the city; the opening of the Savannah Medical College; and a jailbreak by two men using a rope made of bed sheets.[44] Still, like most of his counterparts at small daily newspapers, Thompson was doing the vast majority of the writing and reporting found in the *Morning News*. And it was becoming increasingly clear that his interests lay chiefly in the editorial columns of the newspaper.

Thompson seemingly saw sectional antagonism everywhere. Sensitive to criticism of the region and its "peculiar institution," he constantly felt the need to promote and defend the South. The editor liked to paint a rosy-hued picture of Southern progress toward economic self-sufficiency, pointing to local examples such as a new Savannah-built steam engine.[45]

He advocated sending Southern boys to the region's schools, noting, "If collegiate education is inseparable from sectional and sectarian influences, it is proper that Southern parents should take care that those influences should be favorable rather than hostile to our political and domestic institutions."[46] He also cited statistics showing the long life spans of many blacks as proof that slave owners were not the cruel monsters they often were portrayed in the North.[47] Thompson joined other Southerners in the outcry over publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and its portrayal of slavery. The popular book was even more evidence to Thompson that the North had become the avowed enemy of the South. By 1853, Thompson was proudly claiming that "both the authoress and her book are rapidly sinking into insignificance and contempt to which the sordid moves of the one and the literary merits of the other entitle them."[48]

During the difficult year of 1854, Thompson's editorial voice was almost silenced, at the same time that his newspaper and adopted hometown were badly shaken. A yellow fever epidemic ravaged Savannah from August to November, killing more than 600 people. Thompson caught the fever early in the epidemic and was critically ill for several weeks. When well enough to travel, he and his family fled to Augusta and later across the river into South Carolina to escape the epidemic.[49] Thompson returned to Savannah in late October to learn that five members of the newspaper's staff had died from the fever. If the epidemic was not bad enough, a major storm struck Savannah in the midst of the outbreak, leaving behind massive wreckage.[50]

The unsettled business conditions following the epidemic and storm, combined with the nationwide recession of 1854-1855, caused frequent changes in the ownership of the *Morning News* over the next five years. In November 1854, Thompson and Cooper took in two additional partners. The following March, Thompson purchased the shares of Cooper and the two new partners, making him the sole owner as well as editor. In a message to readers, Thompson pledged to continue the editorial philosophy of the *Morning News*, saying its success had proven the wisdom of maintaining "perfect neutrality and independence of all parties, cliques, or factions."[51]

Thompson Supports the Democrats

By 1855, however, it was abundantly clear that the *Morning News* had become anything but neutral. There is no indication that the *Morning News* ever received party patronage from the Democratic Party. Even so, Thompson was finding it difficult to divorce himself from politics.[52] At the same time, it was evident the editor had made a home for himself in

Savannah. Thompson moved in Savannah's leading political, business, and social circles. He became port warden and chairman of the board of health. He was one of a group of businessmen who guaranteed the bonds of the Savannah, Albany, and Gulf Railroad. A play based on his *Major Jones* books was regularly performed, and he had the honor of seeing the name *Major Jones* given to an ornate coach that took pleasure seekers to nearby Tybee Island. He was even elected a Democratic committeeman from Chatham County.[53] Thompson and the *Morning News* had become inseparable. As a man with literary talents and interests, the editor no doubt took pride in his independence. However, he also had become a devoted Georgian and a Southerner. He put his love for the state and its traditional way of life above that independence.

The difficulties Thompson and his newspaper went through in 1854 kept the editor largely quiet on such issues as the Kansas - Nebraska Act and the rise of the anti-immigration party, the Know-Nothings. However, Thompson roared back on his editorial page the following year as these topics increasingly grabbed the nation's attention. The Know-Nothings, also known as the Americans, had exploited the growing animosity toward Catholics and foreigners, while competing with both Whigs and Republicans for the anti-Democratic vote. Thompson viewed Know-Nothingism as in "deadly hostility to the institutions and rights of the South." All signs, Thompson wrote, pointed to the Know-Nothings becoming a sectional party comprised of free-soilers and old Whigs. As such, it was "another solemn admonition that the time is rapidly approaching when the question is to be determined whether those rights and institutions can be maintained by us under the Constitution . . . ." It also was more evidence to Thompson that the South must unite under the Democratic Party.[54]

Perhaps because Know-Nothingism attracted relatively little interest from Georgians, Thompson directed most of his attention to the increasingly violent struggle taking place in Kansas. While the Kansas - Nebraska Act was being debated in Congress, abolitionist and pro-slavery groups raced to control the fate of the state. The editor was outraged that emigrant aid societies had sponsored free-soil settlers moving to Kansas, ignoring that Missourians had used force to repel the settlers.[55] For Thompson it was one thing when the anti-slavery message had been largely confined to abolitionist groups, churches, and legislative halls, but the events in Kansas showed that abolitionists were going too far. The "demon of Abolitionism" had grown beyond the North's power to control it, he argued. "Unfortunately, for the country, what has been a merely moral question at the North . . ." he wrote, "is at the South a material question of the gravest importance, involving our very existence as a people."[56]

For Thompson, the settlement of Kansas was a clear trial of sectional strength. With the stakes so high, Thompson stepped up his invective and cast the Kansas question in apocalyptic terms. "We have surely fallen on evil days," he wrote. "A dark cloud is gathering on our Western border. A spirit of reckless fanaticism rules the day, threatening . . . the American people."[57] Thompson argued that the state's newspapers had not been doing enough to make the issues at stake in Kansas clear to Georgians. To him the role of the South's press was clear. "The time has come when the question if [sic] Southern equality and rights in the union must be met," he wrote, "and the press is but performing its duty to the South and the country by pointing out the imminence of the danger." Georgians must "meet our foes . . . with their own weapons," he declared. "If the Constitution and laws are to be disregarded, and Kansas is to be the battle ground . . . then Georgia should lose no time in being represented there."[58]

As the violence in Kansas increased, Thompson stepped up his rhetoric. Wasting few words, he declared that, "Even the most conservative of the South must view a large majority of the people of the North as enemies."[59] He pounded home that message, as hardly a day went by without some kind of editorial comment. The editor also gave up any public pretense of the *Morning News* being politically neutral. His attempts at extolling the virtues of nonpartisanship, which he had proclaimed regularly in the paper since the *Morning News* began publishing, ceased altogether.

In his editorials, Thompson decried the support given to abolitionists by Northern churches. He reveled in stories about alleged poor treatment of free blacks in the North. He also defended the vicious caning of Senator Charles Sumner by Representative Preston Brooks.[60] He called John Brown and participants in the so-called Pottawatomie Massacre of pro-slavery settlers in Kansas a "curse to the nation and a disgrace to the human race."[61] And he referred to members of the emerging Republican Party as revolutionaries who possessed all "the elements of anarchy." "Are they only a darker shade of that same class of men who, in the French Revolution, filled the civilized world with horror and dismay?" Thompson asked.[62]

The racial aspects of Southern life increasingly crept into the editorials found in the *Morning News*. Perhaps mindful of his own Northern upbringing, Thompson criticized the nativist platform of the Know-Nothing Party, saying it was not consistent with American principles welcoming "true men of every nation and clime" so long as they were of the right skin color. He urged Southerners to distance themselves from such thinking and to welcome anyone "who stands with us on the white

man's platform." As men devoted to the Constitution and the rights of the South, Thompson wrote, "We go for the *white basis of political equality.*" The editor had no use for "Parson" Brownlow, the controversial Tennessee editor who was an outspoken Unionist.[64] Thompson also had nothing but contempt for those men and women in the South who dared criticize slavery. When two men tried to speak out against the treatment of slaves in Savannah, they were rightly arrested, he noted. Both men, the editor snidely remarked, "should be thankful at having escaped a coat of tar and feathers."[65]

The *Morning News* also stepped up its defense of the South's treatment of blacks. In one editorial, Thompson described a local Negro Sunday school class walking to the park for a May picnic. The colorful procession, he wrote, would "have made Aunt Harriet Beecher Stowe's philanthropic heart throb. We are sure that she never saw a happy or better clad party, composed of the children of the laboring poor, either in this country or in Europe."[66]

Thompson reveled in the news that a group of white shipyard workers in Baltimore were protesting the hiring of free blacks. The incident, he wrote, was one more example that Negroes "have been driven from every employment that a white man will engage in." His cure for the problem was predictable. "As a civilized being the African must 'earn his bread by the sweat of his brow,' and while he occupies the same soil with the white man his only security is in the guardianship established by the relation of master and slave."[67]

The editor also had plenty to say about the news of a plan to move thousands of free blacks in New York to Haiti. It would be far better for the Negroes if they were returned to slavery in the South, Thompson noted. There could be no denying that the slaves of the South were not only happier than free blacks in the North, he wrote, but "many wise people believe them to be the most thoroughly contented people on the face of the earth." "[M]any a poor starving black . . . sighs when he thinks of the glorious days spent on the old plantation and in his heart desires to return to the corn and cotton fields of his youth."[68]

Opposes Greeley and Bennett

A frequent target of Thompson's attacks was the northern press, particularly New York editors Horace Greeley and James Gordon Bennett. He criticized the New York dailies for their appetite for crime and sensationalism, conveniently forgetting that the *Morning News* also had used such stories to sell papers for years.[69] But far worse were the stances of the *Tribune* and *Herald* on the slavery issue. In Thompson's view, Bennett was

a traitor to his race and country who had repeatedly slandered and insulted the South.[70] Greeley, who was derisively referred to as the "Philosopher," was ridiculed for his support of abolitionism and his love of new ideas.[71]

Bennett and Greeley were not the only editors who came under assault by Thompson. The squabbling between Thompson and his counterpart at the Savannah *Republican* had grown increasingly antagonistic and bitter. The two editors traded different opinions—and barbs—over a congressional bill in 1859 to ban slavery from the Arizona territory. The *Republican's* editor concluded his article by alluding to the position of the *Morning News* and commenting, "there are some elements . . . that only come to the surface when its waters are agitated and muddied." To which Thompson replied the next day, "And there are some excrescences (sic) that only grow . . . calm and stagnation, and are the sure index of surrounding impurity, corruption, and decay."[72] By this point, the *Morning News* and the *Republican* were the only two papers still publishing in Savannah. A lack of funding had led the *Courier* to close several years earlier. More surprising was the closing of the *Loyal Georgian* in 1858. No reasons were given by its publishers, but certainly the increasingly Democratic stance of the *Morning News* made it difficult for the *Loyal Georgian* to distinguish itself.

By 1859, Thompson's worst fears were coming true. The rise of the hated "Black Republicans" posed an undeniable threat to the South and slavery, in his view. With John Brown's ill-fated raid on Harper's Ferry, and the subsequent northern reaction, Thompson had all the evidence he needed that the North was indeed the enemy, although he initially chose his words carefully. Brown's attempt to "deluge the Southern States in blood," Thompson wrote, should be enough to convince Southerners of "the necessity of greater watchfulness and of some . . . effective means of protecting themselves."[74] However, Northern sympathy with Brown's plot angered Southerners more than any single thing "in the long list of Northern wrongs," he argued. Even the most conservative men, Thompson wrote, "regard the separation of North and South as an inevitable, if not an imminent necessity."[75]

Never a Neutral Newspaper

By the end of the decade, it was clear that William Tappan Thompson's attempt to publish a politically neutral newpaper in Savannah had failed. Although the *Morning News* never was officially the political organ of any party, it also was never as neutral as the editor liked to claim. Declaring the *Morning News* to be a penny paper was a clear way to distinguish the

journal from Savannah's existing partisan press. However, the *Morning News* gradually succumbed to the narrow sectional orthodoxy of the South, until by 1860 it was as solidly a conservative, Democratic sheet as any newspaper in Georgia. In this sense, the *Morning News* was not so different from earlier penny papers in the North that claimed to be nonpartisan, but in practice were not. And, indeed, Thompson was no less passionate on the subject of slavery, as other penny editors in the North, most notably Greeley, who opposed the institution, and Bennett, who supported it.

The *Morning News*, in fact, is more proof that old ideas regarding the political neutrality of the penny press as a whole should be put to rest. Thompson himself recognized what had become of his grand experiment at neutrality six years later, after civil war had ravaged his beloved South. In a letter to a friend, the former novelist wrote, "For the past 15 years I have been completely absorbed with politics and so identified with the exciting questions of the time, that I have given no thought to the more congenial pursuits of literature. But in politics as in everything else my life has been a failure."[76]

Thompson was being too hard on himself. He had launched a successful daily newspaper, one that is still publishing today.[77] Moreover, the editor had shown through the *Morning News* that financial independence from political parties was indeed possible in the South, and that a successful newspaper could be established through a mass circulation, not necessarily a political one. Yet Thompson also had learned that while political neutrality was easy to declare in mid-19th century America, it was much harder to maintain, especially for one so committed to the ways of the Old South.

Endnotes

[1]Stephen B. Oates, *To Purge This Land With Blood: A Biography of John Brown* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), 290-358; David M. Potter, *The Impending Crisis, 1848-1861*, ed. Don E. Fehrehbacher (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), 356-384; Daily *Morning News*, 3 December 1859.

[2]For the defense of slavery in general, see Drew Gilpin Faust, *The Ideology of Slavery: Proslavery Thought in the Antebellum South, 1830-1860* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981); and William Sumner Jenkins, *Pro-Slavery Thought in the Old South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1935).

[3]Daily *Morning News*, 15 January 1850.

[4]Carl R. Osthaus, *Partisans of the Southern Press: Editorial Spokesman of the 19th Century* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1994), 69-94; Avery Craven, *The Growth of Southern Nationalism, 1848-1861* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1953), 303-311; Clement Eaton, *The Growth of Southern Civilization: 1790-1860* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1961), 265-

270; and Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism: A History 1690-1960*, 3rd ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1962), 228-252.

[5]See, generally, Dwight L. Dumond, *Southern Editorials on Secession* (New York: Century Co. 1931). For a discussion of the secession debate in Georgia, see Louis Turner Griffith and John Erwin Talmadge, *Georgia Journalism 1763-1950* (Athens: University of Georgia Press), 43-65.

[6]W. David Sloan, and Julie Hedgepeth Williams, *The Early American Press, 1690-1783* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1994); Culver H. Smith, *The Press, Politics and Patronage: The American Government's Use of Morning Newspapers 1789-1875* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1977); and Gerald J. Baldasty, "The Press and Politics in the Age of Jackson," *Journalism Monographs* 89 (1984).

[7]The literature on the penny press is extensive. Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism: A History 1690-1960*, 3rd ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1962), 228-252; Michael Emery and Edwin Emery, *The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media*, 8th ed. (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996), 99-106; Michael Schudson, *Discovering the* Morning News*: A Social History of American Morning Newspapers* (New York: Basic Books, 1978), 14-58; Dan Schiller, *Objectivity and the* Morning News, *The Public and the Rise of Commercial Morning Newspapers* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981); Gerald Baldasty, *The Commercialization of News in the 19th Century* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992); and James L. Crouthamel, *Bennett's New York* Herald *and the Rise of the Popular Press* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1989).

[8]For changing views of the penny press, see John C. Nerone, "The Mythology of the Penny Press," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 4 (1987); David Mindich, *Just the Facts: How "Objectivity" Came to Define American Journalism* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 15-63; William E. Huntzicker, *The Popular Press, 1833-1865* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1999), 35-51; and Andrew Saxton, "Problems of Race and Class in the Origins of the Mass Circulation Press," *American Quarterly*, 36, 211-234. Among the penny papers that were notably partisan were the *New York Herald* and the *New York Tribune*.

[9]Osthaus, *Partisans of the Southern Press: Editorial Spokesman of the Nineteenth Century* , 47-68.

[10]Harold A. Williams, "Light for All: Arunah S. Abell and the Rise of the Baltimore Sun," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 82 (Fall 1987), 197-213.

[11]Lester Cappon, *Virginia Morning Newspapers, 1821-1935* (New York: Appleton-Century, 1936), 8.

[12]The letters of Jones, an uneducated, independent-minded farmer whose activities provided humorous commentary on domestic life, appeared in one of the journals and afterwards were collected under the title, *Major Jones's Courtship* . Two other books were later published, *Major Jones's Chronicles of Pineville* and *Major Jones's Sketches of Travel.* Henry Prentice Miller, "Life and Works of William Tappan Thompson," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1942), 1-14.

[13]Miller, "Life and Works," 26-29.

[14]Charles H. Olmstead, "Savannah in the 40s," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, 1 (September 1917): 243-252; Griffith and Talmadge, *Georgia Journalism* , 47-48.

[15]Daily *Morning News*, 15 January 1850.

[16]Griffin and Talmadge, *Georgia Journalism*, 47-48; Daily *Morning News*, 15 January 1850.

[17]*Daily Morning News*, 30 January 1850. No circulation figures are available to verify the claims of the *Morning News*, but it is significant that neither the *Republican* nor *Loyal Georgian* disputed the circulation figures, as they most certainly would have done if the figures were not true. Daily *Morning News*, 27 February 1850.

[18]Daily *Morning News*, 25 July 1850.

[19]Ibid., 3 May 1850.

[20]Ibid., 4 March 1850.

[21]Daily *Morning News*, 20 March 1850.

[22]Ibid., 25 April 1850; 26 April 1850.

[23]Andie Tucher, *Froth and Scum: Truth, Beauty, Goodness and the Ax Murder in America's First Mass Medium* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 7-20; Mott, *American Journalism*, 243.

[24]Daily *Morning News*, 15 January 1850.

[25]Ibid., 15 February 1850.

[26]In one issue, Thompson publicly complained how he had been able to attend only two of the three social gatherings he had been invited to one evening. Daily *Morning News*, 14 February 1851.

[27]Ibid., 27 February 1850; 30 March 1851; 19 April 1852.

[28]Ibid., 15 December 1853.

[29]Michael Holt, *The Political Crisis of the 1850s*, (New York: W.W. Norton, 1972), 67-99; Potter, *The Impending Crisis*, 104-105; Daily *Morning News*, 22 April 1850.

[30]Horace Montgomery, "The Crisis of 1850 and its Effect on Political Parties in Georgia," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* (1940), 293-322; Richard Harrison Shyrock, *Georgia and the Union in 1850* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1926), 295-363; Daily *Morning News*, 2 October 1850.

[31]Daily *Morning News*, 24 September 1850.

[32]Ibid., 19 November 1850. Some penny editors were as critical of the South and slavery as Thompson was of the North and abolitionism. Most notable perhaps was Horace Greeley of the New York *Tribune*. Ralph R. Fahrney, *Horace Greeley and the Tribune in the Civil War* (Cedar Rapids: Torch Press, 1936), 7-37.

[33]Ibid., 14 August 1850.

[34]Ibid., 15 January 1851.

[35]By 1851, both of Savannah's other daily papers had lowered their annual and semi-annual subscription rates to that of the *Morning News*. As best as can be determined, however, neither paper offered single-issue sales.

[36]See, generally, Craven, *Growth of Southern Nationalism*; Jenkins, *Pro-Slavery Thought in the Old South* .

[37]Daily *Morning News*, 22 July 1851.

[38]Ibid., 21 July 1851.

[39]Earon, *Growth of Southern Civilization*, 268; Osthaus, *Partisans of the Southern Press*, 1-11.

[40]Daily *Morning News*, 31 January 1851.

[41]Ibid., 15 January 1852.

[42]Ibid., 21 August 1852. Very little is known about the Courier. Only one issue of the paper is known to exist.

[43]Stanley W. Campbell, *Slave Catchers: Enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law, 1850-1860* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968), 49-54; Potter, *Impending Crisis*, 130-139; Daily *Morning News*, 11 February 1852.

[44]Daily *Morning News*, 1 July 1852; 7 October 1852; 3 March 1853; 25 April 1853.

[45]Ibid., 30 August 1853.

[46]Ibid., 29 March 1850.

[47]Ibid., 11 March 1853.

[48]Craven, *Growth of Southern Nationalism*, 150-157; James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry for Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1988), 88-90; Daily *Morning News*, 7 July 1853.

[49]Daily *Morning News*, 24 October 1854.

[50]Ibid., 9 September 1854.

[51]Daily *Morning News*, 24 March 1855.

[52]Patronage from the U.S. State Department in the mid-1850s went to two other Georgia papers, the Augusta *Constitutionalist* and Columbus *Times and Sentinel*. Smith, *Press, Politics and Patronage*, 270.

[53]Miller, *Life and Works*, 31-32; Carl R. Osthaus, "From the Old South to the New South: The Editorial Career of William Tappan Thompson and the Savannah *Morning News*," *Southern Quarterly* 14 (April 1976), 240-241. In becoming active in political circles, Thompson was following in the footsteps of rival editors in the North such as Henry Raymond of *The New York Times*, who was a Whig activist and elected lieutenant governor of New York in 1854. Francis Brown, *Raymond of the* Times (New York: W. W. Norton, 1951), 129-152.

[54]Holt, *The Political Crisis of the 1850s*, 156-175; Anthony Gene Carey, "Too Southern to be Americans: Proslavery Politics and the Failure of the Know-Nothing Party in Georgia, 1854-1865." *Civil War History*, (1995), 22-40; Daily *Morning News*, 16 June 1855.

[55]Porter, *Impending Crisis*, 199-224. McPherson, *Battle Cry for Freedom*, 145-169; James A. Rawley, *Bleeding Kansas and the Coming of the Civil War* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1969), 79-92.

[56]Daily *Morning News*, 25 May 1855; 24 August 1855; 9 October 1855.

[57]Ibid., 24 August 1855.

[58]Ibid., 9 October 1855. Thompson himself became one of the leaders of a local committee created to raise funds for pro-slavery settlers in Kansas. In his hatred for abolitionists, Thompson was much like James Gordon Bennett who regularly referred to them by a variety of names such as "beastly radicals." Douglas Fermer, *James Gordon Bennett and the* New York Herald: *A Study of Editorial Opinion in the Civil War Era, 1854-1867* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986), 62-72; Crouthamel, *Bennett's* New York Herald, x.

[59]Ibid., 22 January 1856.

[60]Ibid., 29 July 1856.

[61]Ibid., 28 August 1856.

[62]Oates, *To Purge This Land*, 126-137; Daily *Morning News* , 19 August 1856.

[63]Daily *Morning News*, 1 October 1857.

[64]Ibid., 31 August 1858.

[65]Ibid., 27 December 1856.

[66]Ibid., 6 May 1858.

[67]Ibid., 15 June 1858.

[68]Ibid., 31 July 1858.

[69]Ibid., 23 May 1857.

[70]Ibid., 5 August 1856.

[71]Ibid., 6 August 1857.

[72]Ibid., 7 February 1859.

[73]Ibid., 15 August 1858.

[74]Daily *Morning News*, 22 October 1859; Oates, *To Purge This Land With Blood*, 290-358; Potter, *The Impending Crisis*, 356-384; Osthaus, "From the Old South to the New South," 243.

[75]Daily *Morning News*, 11 November 1859.

[76]"Letter to Salem Dutcher," 16 October 1866, as quoted in Miller, *Life and Works*, 29.

[77]The *Morning News* changed owners and acquired a new name, the *Daily Herald*, in 1865 after Savannah was captured by the Union Army in December 1864. The paper's name was changed back to the *Morning News* in 1868 and it maintains that name today. Griffith and Talmadge, *Georgia Journalism*, 400.

"One of the fine figures of American journalism": A Closer Look at Josephus Daniels of the Raleigh *News and Observer*

by W. Joseph Campbell

This article examines the prominent yet little-studied role of Josephus Daniels—owner and editor of the Raleigh News and Observer, *who has been called "one of the fine figures of American journalism"—in the white supremacy political campaigns in North Carolina 100 years ago. Daniels' newspaper also applauded the destruction in 1898 of the leading African American newspaper in North Carolina, justifying the anti-press violence in the name of white supremacy. Daniels' advocacy of white supremacy and black disfranchisement has been consistently overlooked or little-examined by journalism historians who have typically regarded Daniels as a progressive Southern journalist who opposed railroad and tobacco trusts. This study, in scrutinizing Daniels' militancy in favor of what he called "the elimination of the Negro from politics," argues for a fuller, more critical assessment of a journalist who styled himself an "editor in politics."*

> The greatest folly and crime in our national history was the establishment of [N]egro suffrage immediately after the [Civil] War. Not a single good thing has come of it, but only evil.
>
> —*Editorial in Raleigh* News and Observer, *28 January 1900*[1]

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One hundred years ago North Carolina was locked in successive "white supremacy" political campaigns. They were virulent, often-violent movements that shattered a progressive, if brittle, coalition of Republicans and Populists; restored Democrats to what became decades of unchallenged political rule; and denied suffrage to nearly all black residents, relegating them to political obscurity in North Carolina for more than 50 years.[2]

A powerful leader of the state's white supremacy campaigns in 1898 and 1900 was Josephus Daniels, owner and editor of the Raleigh *News and Observer*, then North Carolina's largest-circulating newspaper.[3] Daniels and his newspaper championed the white supremacy cause in frequent news reports, vigorously worded editorials, provocative letters, and vicious front page cartoons that called attention to what the newspaper declared were the horrors of "[N]egro rule." Daniels' *News and Observer* also justified in the name of white supremacy the destruction of the leading African American newspaper in North Carolina in a post-election race riot in 1898. Daniels also kept a watchful eye for challenges to white supremacy, seeking in one celebrated case the resignation of a university professor who criticized the racial intolerance of Democratic party leaders and their newspapers.

Despite Daniels' prominence in the white supremacy campaigns in North Carolina, his race-baiting rhetoric has scarcely been recognized by journalism historians or in works of American journalism history. Rather, Daniels' reputation in journalism history is that of a *progressive* Southern reformer, a tireless crusader against railroad and tobacco trusts, a "solid champion of decency,"[4] and "one of the fine figures of American journalism."[5]

This study seeks to direct the attention of journalism historians to Daniels' militant white supremacy advocacy and argues for a fuller, more critical assessment by historians of a Southern journalist who was closely aligned with the Democratic party and, as such, styled himself an "editor in politics."[6] This study, which focuses on Daniels' *News and Observer* during the white supremacy campaigns of 1898 and 1900, also offers revealing insight about how partisan politics infused Southern newspapers at the turn of the century, a topic which has attracted only limited scholarly attention.[7] The US press near the turn of the century still tended to be overtly politicized and Daniels' *News and Observer* is a telling reminder of how partisanship, not fair play or tolerance of conflicting opinions, often shaped the journalism of the times.

The study, moreover, demonstrates the importance of treating with caution the characterizations of great virtue of figures in American journalism and argues for the importance of searching far afield, beyond

journalism history, for insights and interpretations about prominent journalists of the past. There is, after all, a small but growing body of literature—including several studies of the politics and society in North Carolina and the South at the end of the 19th century, when efforts to disfranchise blacks became widespread—that points to Daniels' central role in the white supremacy campaigns.

Daniels Active in Partisan Politics

Daniels, in his autobiography, neither conceals nor apologizes for his newspaper's race-baiting rhetoric. "The *News and Observer* was relied upon to carry the Democratic message and to be the militant voice of White Supremacy," he wrote, "and it did not fail in what was expected, sometimes going to extremes in its partisanship."[8] Like many Southern editors of his time, Daniels took an active role in partisan politics.[9] He was a national Democratic committeeman and achieved a measure of national prominence in 1913 when President-elect Woodrow Wilson appointed him Navy secretary.[10] Later he was ambassador to Mexico during the presidency of Franklin D. Roosevelt, who had been an Assistant Secretary during Daniels' years at the Navy Department.[11]

Josephus Daniels was born in 1862 and grew up in Wilson, in the heart of North Carolina's Second Congressional District which, after the Civil War, was dominated by black voters. Journalism, politics and race all converged for him at an early age, as suggested by his recollection of attending congressional nominating conventions in Wilson as a boy:

> The majority of the delegates were [N]egroes, with a mere handful of white delegates. As soon as the door of the courthouse was opened, the [N]egroes crowded in so that there was no room for white participants. A few seats were reserved for reporters, and I squeezed into one of these even as a boy before I became a regular reporter, for I sent news items to the Raleigh and Wilmington papers. Think of 500 perspiring [N]egroes packed into a courthouse, wrangling and fighting, on a red-hot day! It was stifling and the odors were rank.[12]

Daniels became editor of a local newspaper, the *Wilson Advance*, in 1880 and later edited the *State Chronicle*, a daily newspaper in Raleigh. He sold the money-losing newspaper in 1892 and started the *North Carolinian*, a weekly that was financially supported by the Democratic party. The newspaper's readership and advertising dropped after the 1892 elections, and the following year Daniels moved to Washington, DC, and

became chief clerk in the US Department of the Interior. In 1894, Daniels' benefactor, Julian S. Carr, arranged for a third party to acquire the Raleigh *News and Observer* on Daniels' behalf,[13] and Daniels took up the editorship later that year. In doing so, Daniels was expected "to breathe new life" into a demoralized state Democratic party,[14] which in 1894 had lost power to a Republican - Populist coalition that was supported by black voters.[15]

As editor of the *News and Observer*, Daniels was soon to take a central role in championing the white supremacy movement in North Carolina politics—a role that journalism historians have overlooked or sidestepped. They have instead focused on Daniels' reputation for attacking railroad and tobacco trusts[16] and for advocating public support for education.[17] While they have tended not to assign great national importance to Daniels, journalism historians have praised him for building the *News and Observer* "into one of the South's leading newspapers."[18] Frank Luther Mott—who called Daniels "one of the fine figures of American journalism"[19]—extolled the *News and Observer* as "a fearless opponent of textile and tobacco interests of the region in certain monopolistic and anti-labor activities."[20]

Sidney Kobre, who described the *News and Observer* as "one of the outstanding liberal Democratic newspapers in the South,"[21] noted that Daniels had "backed a white supremacy movement." Kobre, however, failed to explore the matter. Instead, he wrote that Daniels "advocated . . . equal educational opportunities for Negroes in a period when they were neglected. Pro-labor in policy, he urged better wages and shorter hours and urged the abolition of child labor."[22]

"Like other decent white Southerners"

Daniels' biographer, Joseph L. Morrison, could hardly overlook Daniels' white supremacy advocacy and his vehement rhetoric of the late 19th century. But Morrison argued that Daniels and his race-baiting should not be judged by norms of the second half of the 20th century. Morrison, an altogether admiring biographer, wrote:

> It is difficult for today's reader to examine the White Supremacy Campaign files of the *News and Observer*, replete with racist talk and cruel cartoons, and avoid judging Editor Daniels by today's rules rather than in terms of the values that he then held most dear. Like other decent white Southerners, Daniels concluded that unless the [N]egro were removed from politics—for he was deemed a surpassing temptation to

corrupt white politicians—there could be no communal peace or progress.[23]

Such views—akin to blaming blacks for the corrupt election practices of white politicians, and reminiscent of the belief that slavery had been beneficial to blacks[24]—were certainly not uncommon in the South in the late 19th century. "The majority of Southerners," C. Vann Woodward has noted, "were taught to regard disfranchisement as reform."[25]

But not all "decent white Southerners" endorsed the tactics that Daniels championed. He had contemporaneous critics who placed their careers at risk by raising their objections. Notable among them was John Spencer Bassett, a history professor at Trinity College (now Duke University) in Durham, North Carolina.

In 1903, Bassett became the target of withering newspaper criticism—led by Daniels and the *News and Observer*—for his essay criticizing the state's white supremacy movement as dangerously expedient. "This political agitation is awaking a demon in the South," Bassett warned in the essay, predicting ever "fiercer" conflict between the races.[26] "The duty of brave and wise men," Bassett declared, "is to seek to infuse the spirit of conciliation into these white leaders of white men."[27] The *News and Observer* excoriated Bassett as "a freak," unfit "to write of anything that concerns the political or racial questions from the standpoint of the Southern man."[28]

The White Supremacy Campaign of 1898

The white supremacy political campaign of 1898 was the vehicle of the Democratic Party in North Carolina to wrest control from the coalition of Republicans and Populists which in 1894 had won nearly two-thirds of the seats in North Carolina's General Assembly. The interracial coalition, a shaky and ultimately unstable alliance which Democrats called the "fusion," enacted among other reforms an electoral law regarded as "perhaps the fairest and most democratic in the post-Reconstruction South."[29] The measure allowed illiterates to vote by using colored ballot papers bearing party insignia, and limited the power of registrars to challenge and disqualify would-be voters.[30] Such measures enhanced black participation in North Carolina politics. An estimated 87 percent of eligible black voters cast ballots in 1896, compared to 64 percent in 1892.[31] Eleven black legislators were elected to the North Carolina General Assembly of 1897, the most since the 1880s,[32] as the "fusionist" coalition won every statewide election in 1896.[33]

Meanwhile, the administration of President William McKinley was appointing blacks to federal patronage positions in North Carolina, notably postmasterships—acknowledgment of the importance of black support in securing McKinley's nomination.[34] Such appointments, historian Joel Williamson has noted, were particularly distressing to whites, as they meant "their womenfolk were forced to do business with black postmasters and clerks, often enough with their political cronies hanging about inside the post office . . . Physical contact through the mutual handling of mails and monies was bad enough, but even more awful was the prospect that black men in office would make all black men assume themselves more powerful and be led to approach white women sexually."[35] In the counties of eastern North Carolina in particular, Williamson noted, "blacks were rising and whites were horrified."[36]

Democrats responded to the prospect of what they termed "Negro rule" by mounting in 1898 the first of what they called white supremacy campaigns. The efforts were unreservedly intended—as Daniels' *News and Observer* declared—"to restore permanent White Supremacy" to North Carolina.[37]

The 1898 campaign was a violent affair. As one historian has written, paramilitary units calling themselves Red Shirts and Rough Riders "broke up fusionist political rallies, disrupted black church meetings, whipped outspoken blacks, and drove black voters from the polls . . . . The cry of '[N]egro rule' led by Josephus Daniels' Raleigh *News and Observer* overwhelmed any public discussion of the economic issues involved in the campaign."[38] Daniels was little restrained in calling attention to the specter of "Negro rule." His newspaper "led in a campaign of prejudice, bitterness, vilification, misrepresentation, and exaggeration to influence the emotions of the whites against the Negro."[39]

One especially chilling portrayal was an editorial cartoon spread across four columns of the *News and Observer* in late September 1898. The drawing, by Daniels' editorial cartoonist, Norman E. Jennett, depicted "[N]egro rule" in the form of a huge, bat-winged figure trailing a lizardlike tail. Looming against a dark, sterile landscape, the creature clawed menacingly at the hapless shapes of white men and women. The caption was "The Vampire That Hovers Over North Carolina."[40]

The prospect of "[N]egro rule" was, however, quite far-fetched—more a campaign scare tactic than even a remote political possibility. Blacks by no means dominated or controlled the state's political life; they after all had never occupied more than 20 percent of the seats in the state General Assembly.[41] Still, Democrats "publicized evidence of '[N]egro rule' anywhere a Republican organization existed" in North Carolina.[42]

On election day 1898, Daniels asserted in an editorial in the *News and Observer*: "Do your duty today. Stand by Anglo-Saxon civilization. It is the hope of the State, of the nation and of the world."[43] Referring to the Democrats, the editorial stated: "The White Man's Party has shown that its opponents are responsible for [N]egro domination in a large section of the State; that as a consequence life is insecure, womanhood is endangered, property is unprotected and the law is almost a nullity as a punitive for and a restraint upon crime."[44]

The Democrats swept to power in North Carolina in the 1898 elections,[45] winning two-thirds of the seats in the General Assembly. Daniels proceeded to organize the most elaborate of the many victory celebrations in the state. As he later wrote:

> Following the white supremacy victory, there were celebrations all over the state, but the big State celebration was staged in Raleigh. A meeting was held there to arrange for the celebration, at which I presided; and at that meeting the motion was made to thank the *News and Observer* for its leadership in the fight. I said that this ought to include all Democratic papers, but the meeting unanimously overruled the chair and the motion was unanimously adopted.[46]

Despite fears that such a gathering would be an invitation to trouble,[47] the white supremacy celebration in Raleigh went off without violence. Daniels wrote later of the victory *fête*: "Shouting Democrats came from all parts of the State, a few of them wearing red shirts,[48] and they were welcomed at the *News and Observer* office. Its building was illuminated and decorated with brooms, emblematic of the sweeping victory . . . I presided at the meeting and speeches were made by distinguished men."[49]

Mob Violence in Wilmington

Fears of post-election violence were not at all farfetched in North Carolina in the fall of 1898. Mob violence had swept the state's largest city, the southeastern port of Wilmington, in the immediate aftermath of the 1898 election. At least 11 black men, and perhaps many more,[50] were killed as a white mob in effect "declared war on black residents"[51] in what has been called "an American *coup d'etat*."[52]

Black and white Republicans had controlled local government in Wilmington, and tensions in the city had been stoked by the fevered 1898 election campaign,[53] by "rumors of blacks arming themselves," and

by a provocative editorial in the city's African American newspaper. The editorial impugned the moral character of white women and asserted that some of them used the charge of rape to conceal "clandestine interracial sexual liaisons when they were detected."[54]

The editorial was published in August 1898 in the Wilmington *Record*, a daily newspaper founded, owned, and edited by Alexander Manly, the son of Charles Manly, a former Whig governor of North Carolina, and one of his former slaves.[55] The editorial was a response to a much-publicized appeal to whites by Georgia's Rebecca Latimer Felton in 1897 "to lynch a thousand black men" if necessary to protect white women.[56] White supremacists, including Daniels and the *News and Observer*, seized on the editorial—portions of which were widely reprinted in North Carolina newspapers[57]—as "a sensational example of how fusion rule promoted black impudence." Suffice it to say, one scholar has written, "white Democrats fully exploited Manly's editorial as well as myriad allegations of black insolence, crime, and sexual misconduct in order to mobilize racist sentiment in North Carolina, especially in the days preceding the election."[59]

The reporting in the *News and Observer* no doubt helped exacerbate tensions in Wilmington. The newspaper called attention to what Daniels later said was "the result of [N]egro control in . . . Wilmington. It described the unbridled lawlessness and rule of incompetent officials and the failure of an ignorant and worthless police force to protect the people. It gave incidents of housebreaking and robbery in broad daylight and other happenings under [N]egro domination."[60] Such reporting, Daniels maintained, "finally sealed the doom" of "fusion" politics in North Carolina.[61] (His biographer, Morrison, asserted that the "fevered journalism" that characterized the *News and Observer*'s reporting "did its unworthy part in paving the way for that stepchild of sensationalism, the Wilmington race riot."[62])

The *News and Observer* reported the violence on its front page on November 11, 1898, beneath a headline exceptionally large for the then-typographically staid newspaper. The headline read in part: "A Day of Blood at Wilmington: [N]egroes Precipitate Conflict by Firing on the Whites—Manly, the Defamer of White Womanhood, Escapes." Intentionally or not, the *News and Observer*'s report from Wilmington did make clear the provocative role of the white mob:

> Yesterday, a large mass meeting of business men was held and it was demanded of the [N]egroes to have the plant and editor of the *Daily Record*, the [N]egro paper which recently printed

> the vile slander of the white women of the State, removed from the town by 7 o'clock this morning. The demand was not acceded to by the [N]egroes, and at 8:30 o'clock 600 armed white citizens went to the office and proceeded to destroy the printing material. While that was in progress, in some unaccountable way, the building took fire and was burned to the ground . . . . Incensed at this, a number of [N]egroes assembled . . . in another part of the city, and a clash between whites and blacks ensued.[63]

By day's end, the Democrats had seized control of Wilmington's municipal government, forcing the Republican-dominated board of aldermen and mayor to resign their elected positions "virtually at gunpoint."[64] Manly eluded the mob and made his way north. Other black leaders in Wilmington were arrested and taken under armed guard to northbound trains and banished from the city. "The citizens cheered as they saw them going," the *News and Observer* reported, "for they considered their departure conducive to peace in the future . . . This is but the beginning of a general movement to rid the town of the turbulent [N]egroes' leaders."[65]

The violence in Wilmington was condemned in many newspapers in the North, prompting the *News and Observer* to assail the "villifers" [sic] of the South. "As was to be expected, the clash between the races at Wilmington . . . has brought from a certain section of the Northern press a flood of abuse of the South," the newspaper asserted in an editorial. "That blood should have been shed at Wilmington none regrets more than the white people of that town. That such a deplorable climax was not of their seeking is evidenced by their precedent patience" under governance by black and white Republican officeholders.[66]

"To garner the fruits of white supremacy"

Daniels' focus in the aftermath of the 1898 election shifted quickly from the violence at Wilmington to the state's General Assembly, which the Democrats now controlled. "The big duty of the Legislature of 1899," he later wrote, "was to garner the fruits of the white supremacy victory."[67] The Democrats moved promptly to reverse the Republican - Populist electoral reforms. The centerpiece of the Democrats' efforts was a restrictive suffrage amendment to the state constitution. The proposed amendment called for a poll tax and a literacy test for all voters. Illiterate whites would be enabled to vote given the provisions of a grandfather clause,

which permitted descendants of any citizen who had voted before 1867 to register to vote by December 1, 1908.[68]

The suffrage amendment was debated in North Carolina against a backdrop of similar movements across the South[69]—movements that Daniels followed closely and covered for the *News and Observer*. For example, he traveled to Montgomery, Alabama, in May 1900 to report about a conference convened by leading Southerners to examine race issues in the region. Daniels wrote in a dispatch published under his byline in the *News and Observer*, "The question of paramount importance in Alabama among white people is the same question that troubles every Southern State—how to be delivered from the body of death to which we were joined by the imposition of unlimited [N]egro suffrage."[70]

He subsequently traveled to New Orleans to investigate Louisiana's adoption in 1898 of a constitutional measure that curtailed black suffrage. "In this city," Daniels wrote, "the adoption of the constitutional amendment, similar to the one pending in North Carolina, resulted in reducing the [N]egro vote from 14,177 to 1,493 . . . This fully answers the question as to whether the amendment, if adopted in North Carolina, would eliminate the [N]egro from politics."[71] Daniels also reported from New Orleans: "As far as this city is concerned, everybody concedes that the amendment has done everything that was expected. There has been no friction, no jars, no trouble, and it is acquiesced in by men of all parties, except of course the few Radical politicians who wish to keep the Negro as a disturbing element in politics."[72]

Support for Disfranchisement

The North Carolina disfranchisement measure—which, Daniels said, "was a clear-cut issue between those who wanted to remove the great bulk of ignorant [N]egroes from the exercise of suffrage and those who wanted to continue them"[73]—led to another virulent campaign in 1900, which the *News and Observer* covered closely. Its front page regularly featured appeals to support the disfranchisement amendment and not infrequent reports about the threat of race-related violence.[74] It regularly reported on the fears of white women who described themselves "terrified by prowling [N]egroes."[75] One letter-writer to the *News and Observer* described herself as a daughter of a Confederate solider and implored: "Whatever may be your political views, whether you are a Democrat, or a Republican, or a Populist, you are a white man . . . Not one of you but scorns the taint of African blood. Not one of you but would die for the women of your homes."[76]

Appearing in a column adjoining the woman's letter was a crude poem that carried the headline, "Sambo on the Amendment." Its opening stanzas were:

> What's de use of kicking
> Agenst de white man's rule?
> Let all dem kick dat want to,
> Dis nigger ain't no fool—
> No suh!
>
> De white man pays de taxes,
> So let him run de mill.
> He's been a doing of it
> And he's gwine to do it still—
> Dat he is![77]

In the closing days of the 1900 campaign, the *News and Observer* renewed its attack on Alexander Manly and his ill-fated newspaper in Wilmington by republishing on its front page the text of the editorial that had proven so incendiary in 1898. "Let every white voter before he deposits his ballot remember the infamous language of the [N]egro Manly," the *News and Observer* said in reintroducing the editorial. "No man can live in North Carolina and print such slanders against the good people of North Carolina, and the good people of Wilmington drove the [N]egro out of their borders and destroyed his presses."[78]

Daniels urged white voters to "leave no stone unturned" in turning out the vote for the disfranchisement amendment, which he characterized as "the only method by which the menace of [N]egro rule can be permanently removed. It is to be hoped that not only hundreds but thousands of men of other parties will unite with the Democrats in the great struggle to free the white voters from the peril and evil of a large Negro vote that is always cast against those things that make for good government and better conditions."[79] On voting day, August 2, 1900, Daniels published an editorial titled "Finally, Brethren," which asserted that ratifying the disfranchisement amendment "will not only be best for the white man but will be best for the thrifty [N]egro. It will do much to break down the harsh race antagonisms and will enable the white man and the [N]egro to live on terms of friendship, each in his own separate sphere."[80]

The disfranchisement amendment was approved in the referendum by about 55,000 votes, or a margin of nearly 3-to-2.[81] Daniels cheered the outcome as signaling the restoration of a "united" Democratic party and that, he said, represented "the realization of a long cherished dream."[82]

The consequences of the referendum were soon evident. Nearly all blacks, and many poor whites, lost the vote.[83] As the *News and Observer* reported, the registration of black voters fell to 6,200 in 1902;[84] in the election six years before, as many as 120,000 blacks had voted.[85] Indeed, as Jeffrey Crow has written, "men of unquestioned Democratic pedigree once more held the reins of government and would continue to do so for many decades to come . . . Dissenting voices had been decisively silenced and opposition to the solid South had been overwhelmingly crushed."[86]

Daniels' *News and Observer* kept a wary eye on the periodic if feeble challenges to black disfranchisement and reminded readers of what it called the enduring lessons of the crusade against "[N]egro rule."[87] It also published periodic notices on its front page, reminding white men of the importance of paying their poll tax on time. Otherwise, the reminders said, "YOU cannot vote."[88]

Daniels bridled editorially at such developments as President Theodore Roosevelt's invitation to Booker T. Washington to dine at the White House in October 1901. About that occasion, the *News and Observer* declared: "The only hope of peace and amity between the races is in strict separation in all social life and the man who seeks to break it down is the worst living enemy of the South and its civilization. He commits the unpardonable crime."[89]

That chilling phrase—"the unpardonable crime"—was invoked[90] in the campaign in 1903 against Bassett, the Trinity College history professor whose essay in the *South Atlantic Quarterly*[91] warned that measures such as disfranchisement and racial segregation were aggravating racial antipathy in the South. Bassett's essay also stated that Booker T. Washington "is a great and good man, a Christian statesman, and take him all in all the greatest man, save General Lee, born in the South in a hundred years; but he is not a typical Negro."[92]

Daniels and the *News and Observer* led the denunciation of Bassett, disparaging him as "a freak" and ridiculing his characterization of Washington as "wanton and absurd [N]egro deification."[93] The furor intensified[94] and Bassett offered his resignation. The Trinity trustees, meeting in special session, voted 18-7 to reject the resignation,[95] saying, "Any form of coercion of thought and private judgment is contrary to one of the constitutional aims of Trinity College, which is 'to cherish a sincere spirit of tolerance.'"[96]

Bassett, whose later work included a seminal biography of Andrew Jackson, left Trinity in summer 1906 to accept a similar position at Smith College in Northampton, Massachusetts. He seemed astonished that his essay had provoked such controversy, writing several years later: "I do not think I was responsible for the fury of 1903 . . . If the article had received

the treatment usually accorded such articles [*in South Atlantic Quarterly*], there would have been no excitement."[97]

For Daniels, the Bassett essay posed an unambiguous challenge to black disfranchisement. "The people who had won this victory at such a great price felt that Dr. Bassett's article would have the effect of reopening the race question," he later wrote, "and all of us were more intemperate . . . than we would have been at any other time."[98]

Legacy Contradicts Reality

Every day, at the top of its editorial page, the *News and Observer* publishes the following excerpt from the will of Josephus Daniels:

> I advise and enjoin those who direct the paper in the tomorrows never to advocate any cause for personal profit or preferment. I would wish it always to be "the tocsin" and to devote itself to the policies of equality and justice to the underprivileged. If the paper should at any time be the voice of self-interest or become the spokesman of privilege or selfishness it would be untrue to its history.

The admonition, while grandiloquent, is utterly at odds with Daniels' race-baiting militancy in the white supremacy cause in 1898 and 1900; it ignores that the newspaper was the harsh voice of the self-interested Democratic party in North Carolina in "eliminating" the state's black citizens from political life by stripping them of the vote. The admonition in Daniels' will is contradicted by his newspaper's record at the turn of the century.

Daniels' central roles in the political campaigns of 1898 and 1900 are important elements of his record that have been largely ignored by journalism historians. His white supremacy advocacy also has been excused by his biographer, Morrison, who maintained that Daniels and his rhetoric must not be judged by contemporary standards. In so arguing, however, Morrison overlooks Daniels' contemporaneous critics, such as Bassett, who warned that racial intolerance of the white supremacy movement risked "awaking a demon in the South."[99]

Morrison also attempts—inaccurately—to portray Daniels as having regretted his racial militancy. He quotes Daniels' autobiography as saying the *News and Observer* had been "too cruel" in its advocacy .[100] But the autobiography contains no unequivocal statement of regret for Daniels' prominence or vehemence in the white supremacy campaigns. Rather, as this study has shown, the autobiography includes many favorable recollec-

tions about that harsh period, the consequences of which endured long after Daniels' death in 1948. Following the white supremacy campaigns, political participation of African men and women was an "undebated issue in North Carolina politics" until the 1950s and 1960s.[101] The events of the late 1890s effectively "froze political thought" in the state "and kept it from evolving for decades."[102]

It is hard to know just why Daniels' turn-of-the-century race-baiting rhetoric—and his condemnation of the leading black newspaper in the state—escaped the notice of most journalism historians. Perhaps it was because Daniels was not a transcendent national figure in American journalism. Perhaps it was because of his subsequent association with progressive political figures such as Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt.[103] Perhaps "progressive" is an entirely misleading label. As one historian of North Carolina's white supremacy campaigns has written, "a 'progressive' was a white supremacist who favored black disfranchisement and even minimal public support for black schools; a conservative was a white supremacist who favored black disfranchisement but did not believe public funds should support black schools."[104]

As this study makes clear, journalism historians should broaden their assessments of Daniels to acknowledge, and consider the implications of, his role in crusading against black suffrage. Revisiting the white supremacy crusades of Josephus Daniels also serves to underscore the importance of injecting balance into the consideration of journalists who gain prominence regionally and nationally. Historians are certainly well-advised to proceed cautiously in anointing such prominent journalists as "fine figures" or as champions of decency.

Endnotes

[1]"Negro Suffrage a Crime and Folly When Established A Sin and Disgrace if Longer Endured," *News and Observer* (28 January 1900): 12.

[2]See Paul Luebke, *Tar Heel Politics: Myths and Realities* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1990), 7.

[3]The *News and Observer*'s average daily circulation in 1898 was 4,800. The newspaper was published Tuesday-Sunday. See N. W. Ayer & Son, *American Newspaper Annual* (Philadelphia: N.W. Ayer & Son, 1899), 616. Notes in Josephus Daniels' papers at the Library of Congress indicate that the *News and Observer*'s daily circulation climbed to 5,700 in 1900 and to 7,054 in 1902. The circulation was 1,800 in 1894 when Daniels took control of the newspaper. See untitled note, container 683, Josephus Daniels Papers, Library of Congress. The Daniels collections at the Library of Congress and at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, although extensive, contain little about Daniels' editorship of the *News and Observer* during the period examined in this article. Many of the newspaper's records and much of Daniels' correspondence in the late 19th and early 20th centuries were destroyed by fire in 1913. See Joseph L. Morrison, *Josephus Daniels: The Small-d*

Democrat (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1966), viii.

[4]Michael Emery and Edwin Emery, *The Press and America: An Interpretative History of the Mass Media*, 8th ed. (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1996), 225.

[5]Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism, A History, 1690-1960*, 3d. ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1962), 576.

[6]The second volume of Daniels' autobiography is titled *Editor in Politics*.

[7]Perhaps the most ambitious treatment of the Southern press during the 19th century includes little discussion about the region's journalism of the 1890s. See Carl R. Osthaus, *Partisans of the Southern Press: Editorial Spokesmen of the 19th Century* (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 1994).

[8]Josephus Daniels, *Editor in Politics* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941), 295.

[9]Another was Clark Howell, who became editor of the Atlanta Constitution in 1897. See Wallace B. Eberhard, "Clark Howell and The Atlanta Constitution," *Journalism Quarterly* 60 (Spring 1983): 118-122.

[10]Morrison, *Josephus Daniels*, 47-48.

[11]Morrison, *Josephus Daniels*, 48-49, 168-170.

[12]Josephus Daniels, *Tar Heel Editor* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1974), 175-176.

[13]Daniels, *Editor in Politics*, 86-89.

[14]Morrison, *Josephus Daniels*, 25.

[15]Luebke, *Tar Heel Politics*, 4.

[16]There was a keen partisan dimension to Daniels' opposition to trusts. On the eve of the elections in 1902, for example, he declared in an editorial that "the trusts are pouring money into certain counties in the State in the hope of buying the election for the Republican ticket. . . . The people of North Carolina did not go through the fire [of the white supremacy campaigns of 1898 and 1900] to rid the State of the Negro vote to foist a worse evil — the evil of permitting the trusts to rule it by debauching the voters with money. That would be like jumping out of the frying pan into the fire. It would be far better to have to be governed by an ignorant race, whose rule could soon be thrown off, than to be ruled by the trusts, which always use power to secure their further enrichment at the expense of the people." See "Trust Money Trying To Buy The Election," *News and Observer* (1 November 1902): 4.

[17]Emery and Emery, *The Press and America*, 225.

[18]Emery and Emery, *The Press and America*, 225.

[19]Mott, *American Journalism*, 576.

[20]Mott, *American Journalism*, 576.

[21]Sidney Kobre, *Modern American Journalism* (Tallahassee: Florida State University, 1959), 172.

[22]Kobre, *Modern American Journalism*, 172-173.

[23]Morrison, *Josephus Daniels*, 35.

[24]As Leon F. Litwack noted in his study of black Southerners at the end of the 19th century and the first years of the 20th century: "The notion that disfranchisement and segregation benefited both races, that placing restraints on blacks actually protected them, resembled the antebellum argument that enslavement had been the best possible condition for black people, that it had conferred incalculable benefits on a race incapable of caring for itself." Litwack, *Trouble in Mind: Black Southerners in the Age of Jim Crow* (New York: Knopf, 1998), 245.

[25]C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South*, 1877-1913 (Louisiana State University, 1951), 348. Woodward also noted: "Disgraceful scenes of ballot-box stealing, bribery, and intimidation were much rarer after disfranchisement. One effective means of stopping the stealing of ballots is to stop the people from casting them. Elections are also likely to be more decorous when the electorate of the opposition parties has been disfranchised or decimated and the election becomes a formality in a one-party system."

[26]John Spencer Bassett, "Stirring Up the Fires of Race Antipathy," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 2, 4 (October 1903): 304.

[27]Bassett, "Stirring Up the Fires," 302, 305.

[28]"Stirring Up the Fires of Race Antipathy," *News and Observer* (1 November 1903): 16.

[29]Jeffrey J. Crow, "Cracking the Solid South: Populism and the Fusionist Interlude," in Lindley S. Butler and Alan D. Watson, eds., *The North Carolina Experience: An Interpretative and Documentary History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1984): 338.

[30]Crow, "Cracking the Solid South," 338.

[31]Crow, "Cracking the Solid South," 338.

[32]Crow, "Cracking the Solid South," 338.

[33]H. Leon Prather, "We Have Taken a City: A Centennial Essay," in David S. Cecelski and Timothy B. Tyson, eds. *Democracy Betrayed: The Wilmington Race Riot of 1898 and Its Legacy* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 13.

[34]Joel Williamson, *A Rage for Order: Black/White Relations in the American South Since Emancipation* (New York: Oxford University, 1986), 128. The *News and Observer* railed against McKinley's appointments, calling him "the Negroes[sic] candidate" and deploring that "many of the best places in the Federal service in the South are now held for the first time by Negroes." See "What McKinley Has Done for the Southern States," *News and Observer* (5 August 1900): 1.

[35]Williamson, *A Rage for Order*, 128-129.

[36]Williamson, *A Rage for Order*, 130.

[37]"Room for All," *News and Observer* (1 May 1900): 4. Rather than the prospect of "Negro rule" in North Carolina, one labor historian has perceptively noted that it was "too much democracy, through the fusion of Republicans and Populists, [that] set off the white supremacy campaign" of 1898. See Michael Honey, "Class, Race, and Power in the New South: Racial Violence and the Delusions of White Supremacy," in Cecelski and Tyson, *Democracy Betrayed*, 170.

[38]Crow, "Cracking the Solid South," 338. He further noted, 340: "Economic issues" such as increased taxes on railroads and assistance to farmers and small businessmen "were in fact at the core of the 1898 election in North Carolina, but the campaign was not fought openly on those terms."

[39]Helen G. Edmonds, *The Negro and Fusion Politics in North Carolina, 1894-1901.* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1951), 141.

[40]"The Vampire that Hovers over North Carolina," *News and Observer* (27 September 1898): 1. Daniels said in his autobiography that "the feature in the *News and Observer* that was most popular" at the time "were the cartoons drawn by Norman E. Jennett." See Daniels, *Editor in Politics*, 147.

[41]See Honey, "Class, Race, and Power," 170. See also Janette Thomas Greenwood, *Bittersweet Legacy: The Black and White "Better Classes"in Charlotte, 1850-1910* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 187. Greenwood wrote, 190-191, that "the cries of black domination and white supremacy" did not resonate in Charlotte as they did in the eastern part of North Carolina. Nonetheless, "charges of black rule rang true to the Young Democrats who had rise to leadership of the local Democratic party by the late 1890s. . . . [The] Young Democrats viewed white supremacy as their birthright, an inheritance bequeathed to them by their fathers."

[42]John Haley, "Race, Rhetoric, and Revolution" in Cecelski and Tyson, *Democracy Betrayed*, 218.

[43]"Do Your Duty Today," *News and Observer* (8 November 1898): 4.

[44]"Do Your Duty Today," *News and Observer*, 4.

[45]Daniels wrote in his autobiography that the state "approached election day with nervousness and anxiety. . . . At some places in the black districts, guns were fired and the white supremacy people surrounded the polls in great numbers. They were directed to be there early and late. In the places where the Negro vote was large, the impression prevailed among Negroes that it was not safe for them to make any show of resistance. Many of them did not go to the polls to vote." See Daniels, *Editor in Politics*, 307.

[46]Daniels, *Editor in Politics*, 310.

[47]Daniels, *Editor in Politics*, 310. He wrote, "Some of the older people deprecated the holding of a big celebration, fearing that it might result in trouble, but the *News and Observer* took the ground that the celebration ought to be held and that it meant no harm to the Negroes; that the Democrats were their friends and not enemies; and that the speeches made and the whole celebration would serve to bring about a kindly feeling between the races."

[48]Daniels later said of the practice, "In certain parts of the North Carolina the advocates of White Supremacy wear a red shirt as the insignia of freedom from Negro domination in politics." See "Can't Intimidate Red Shirts," *News and Observer* (19 July 1900), 4. Red Shirts often organized themselves

into paramilitary units that disrupted opposition political rallies and terrorized would-be black voters during the white supremacy campaigns. See Crow, "Cracking the Solid South," 340.

[49]Daniels, *Editor in Politics*, 310.

[50]Estimates of the death toll in the Wilmington riot range widely, from 11 (which Daniels offered) to 14, 20, and "100s." See Prather, "We Have Taken a City," 35.

[51]Litwack, *Trouble in Mind*, 313.

[52]See Dolores Janiewski, "'Waged with Such Fury': Wilmington as an American Coup d'Etat," paper presented to annual conference of the American Historical Association, Washington, DC, 8 January 1999. Daniels in his autobiography called the riot "an armed revolution of white men of Wilmington" who sought "to teach what they believed was a needed lesson, that no such defamer as Manly should live in the city and no such paper should be published." He also noted that his newspaper had asserted: "'If any reader is inclined to condemn the people of Wilmington for resolving to expel Manly from the city, let him reread the libel upon the white women of the state that appeared in the Daily Record.'" Daniels, *Editor in Politics*, 307-308.

[53]Williamson wrote, "Given the extravagance of the white supremacy campaign, it is remarkable that the Wilmington riot occurred two days after the election rather than during the turbulent weeks that preceded the balloting." Williamson, *A Rage for Order*, 132.

[54]Litwack, *Trouble in Mind*, 313. The editorial read in part: "You [whites] set yourselves down as a lot of carping hypocrites; in fact, you cry aloud for the virtue of your women while you seek to destroy the morality of ours. Don't ever think that your women will remain pure while you are debauching ours. You sow the seed — the harvest will come in due time." Wilmington *Record* (18 August 1898), cited in Crow, "Cracking the Solid South," 349.

[55]Prather, "We Have Taken a City," 23-24. Prather added, 24: "For anyone not acquainted with him, Manly could have passed for a white man."

[56]Quoted in LeeAnn Whites, "Love, Hate, Rape, Lynching: Rebecca Latimer Felton and the Gender Politics of Racial Violence," in *Democracy Betrayed*, 149.

[57]One scholar has speculated the editorial "might have escaped state-wide attention had not the *News and Observer* publicized it." Edmonds, *The Negro and Fusion Politics*, 147

[58]Crow, "Cracking the Solid South," 341.

[59]Richard Yarborough, "Violence, Manhood, and Black Heroism: The Wilmington Riot and Two Turn-of-the-Century African American Novels," in Cecelski and Tyson, *Democracy Betrayed*, 229.

[60]Daniels, *Editor in Politics*, 285.

[61]Daniels, *Editor in Politics*, 285.

[62]Morrison, *Josephus Daniels*, 34.

[63]"A Day of Blood at Wilmington: Negroes Precipitate Conflict by Firing on the Whites — Manly, the Defamer of White Womanhood, Escapes — Building of His Slanderous Paper Gutted and Burned," *News and Observer* (11 November 1898): 1.

[64]Crow, "Cracking the Solid South," 341.

[65]"Democratic Regime Strangling Anarchy: Wilmington's New Government Bringing Law and Order Out of the Chaotic Conditions Brought About by Negro Domination," *News and Observer* (12 November 1898): 1. The report also cited the near-lynching of a white deputy sheriff, a Republican, who was at the railway station, attempting to leave Wilmington, when "a rope was thrown over his head and several strong men were in the act of swinging him to an overhanging beam when influential citizens interfered, and with difficulty prevented the lynching."

[66]"Villifers [sic] of the South," *News and Observer* (13 November 1898): 4.

[67]Daniels, *Editor in Politics*, 324.

[68]Crow, "Cracking the Solid South," 341.

[69]Disfranchisement measures were approved or enacted in Mississippi in 1890, South Carolina in 1895, Louisiana in 1898, North Carolina in 1900, Alabama in 1901, Virginia in 1901-1902, and Georgia in 1908. See Woodward, *Origins of the New South*, 321. Woodward also notes that disfranchisement movements were complex and often masked struggles for political power among whites: "The real question was which whites should be supreme." Woodward, 327-328.

[70]Josephus Daniels, "The Race Problem of the South," *News and Observer* (8 May 1900): 1.

[71]Josephus Daniels, "It Has Eliminated the Negro: But the Amendment in Louisiana Guarantees to Every White Man the Right to Vote," *News and Observer* (10 May 1900): 1.

[72]Daniels, "It Has Eliminated the Negro," 4.

[73]Daniels, *Editor in Politics*, 326.

[74]See, for example, "Negroes Buying Guns and Cartridges," *News and Observer* (15 July 1900): 1. The *News and Observer* prominently reported the New Orleans race riot in July 1900. See "Rioting Continues in New Orleans," *News and Observer* (27 July 1900): 1, and "Negro Desperado Dies Fighting," *News and Observer* (28 July 1900): 2.

[75]"Shot into the House," *News and Observer* (5 May 1900): 1. Daniels in his autobiography acknowledged that the *News and Observer* gave special attention to reports of crimes by blacks. "Whenever there was any gross crime on the part of Negroes," he later wrote, "the *News and Observer* printed it in a lurid way, sometimes too lurid, in keeping with the spirit of the times." See Daniels, *Editor in Politics*, 253.

[76]"A Woman's Earnest Appeal," *News and Observer* (22 July 1900): 1.

[77]"Sambo on the Amendment," *News and Observer* (22 July 1900): 1.

[78]"What the Negro Manly Said," *News and Observer* (29 July 1900): 1.

[79]"Leave No Stone Unturned," *News and Observer* (29 July 1900): 4.

[80]"Finally, Brethren," *News and Observer* (2 August 1900): 4.

[81]Cited in J. Morgan Kousser, *The Shaping of Southern Politics: Suffrage Restriction and the Establishment of the One-Party South, 1880-1910.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), 193.

[82]"A United Democracy," *News and Observer* (5 August 1900): 4.

[83]Luebke, *Tar Heel Politics*, 6.

[84]"A Majority of 65,876," *News and Observer* (4 November 1902): 1. The newspaper estimated that the Democrats' statewide advantage in registered voters exceeded 65,000.

[85]"Registration by Whites is Heavy," *News and Observer* (26 October 1902): 1.

[86]Crow, "Cracking the Solid South," 342. He noted: "With the effective removal of poor whites and blacks from the political process, the planter-industrialist elite assumed the garb of reformers and set about modernizing the state with increased government services in such areas as public health, education, and road building. Freed of the incubus of lower-class and Negro support, the so-called Progressive movement in North Carolina and throughout the South accelerated, but it was a movement that tended to enhance the interests of the business community principally and to reinforce the existing social, economic, and political order."

[87]See, for example, "Why Not Make It One Hundred Thousand Majority," *News and Observer* (2 November 1902): 4. The editorial, published on the eve of state elections in 1902, stated in part: "The Republican method of campaign was pitched upon this idea: The Democrats, having over our protest, disfranchised the Negro, they ought to be defeated for bringing political peace, and the enemies of the [disfranchisement] Amendment and White Supremacy should be given power."

[88]"That Poll Tax," *News and Observer* (25 April 1902): 1.

[89]"'Will Soon Blow Over,'" *News and Observer* (23 October 1901): 4.

[90]"Bassett Committed the Unpardonable Sin," *News and Observer* (3 December 1903): 4. The editorial read: "Once let the ideas in the Bassett article become widespread, and then the civilization of the South is destroyed. He has committed the only unpardonable sin."

[91]Bassett was the journal's founding editor. In the inaugural issue, Bassett wrote: "The editor . . . desires to make the journal a medium of encouraging every honest literary effort. He recognizes that to do this there must be liberty to think. He will not close the review to opinions with which he may personally differ. . . . He will consider the Quarterly fortunate if it succeeds in presenting the problems of to-day on all of their sides." "Editor's Announcement," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 1,1 (January 1902): 3.

[92]Bassett, "Stirring Up the Fires," 299.

[93]"Stirring Up the Fires," *News and Observer*, 16.

[94]See for example, "Kindle a Flame of Indignation: The People Feel That Professor Bassett's Utterances on the Negro are an Outage," *News and Observer* (3 November 1903): 1.

[95]After the trustees voted, several Trinity students hanged Daniels in effigy — a protest the *News*

and Observer reported on its front page. See "Hang the Editor there in Effigy," *News and Observer* (3 December 1903): 1.

[96]"Eighteen-Seven Thus They Voted," *News and Observer* (3 December 1903): 4. The trustees' statement also read: "We are particularly unwilling to lend ourselves to any tendency to destroy or limit academic liberty."

[97]John Spencer Bassett, untitled letter to the editor [*Charlotte Observer*?], (11 June 1909); Bassett papers, Library of Congress, general correspondence, container 19.

[98]Daniels, *Editor in Politics*, 435.

[99]Bassett, "Stirring Up the Fires," 304. Bassett's essay was remarkably prescient. He wrote, 305: "Some day the Negro will [be] a great industrial factor in the community; some day he will be united under strong leaders of his own. In that time his struggle will not be so unequal as now. In that time, let us hope, he will have brave and Christian leaders."

[100]Morrison, *Josephus Daniels*, 35.

[101]Luebke, *Tar Heel Politics*, 7.

[102]Paul D. Escott, *Many Excellent People: Power and Privilege in North Carolina 1850-1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 265.

[103]For a study of Daniels as a Progressive Era figure, see Larry G. Gerbet, *The Limits of Liberalism: Josephus Daniels, Henry Stimson, Bernard Baruch, Donald Richberg, Felix Frankfurter and the Development of Modern American Political Economy* (New York: New York University Press, 1983). For an appraisal of Daniels' association with Roosevelt, see Carroll Kilpatrick, ed., *Roosevelt and Daniels: A Friendship in Politics* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1952).

[104]Haley, "Race, Rhetoric, and Revolution," 216-217.

Family Pictures: Constructing the "Typical" American in 1920s Magazines

By Carolyn Kitch

Beginning in the 1920s—in the midst of the "Jazz Age"—mass circulation magazines described a new kind of lifestyle based on shared national values. A response to Progressive notions about gender, class, and race, this ideal was profoundly conservative, conflating the American identity with the suburban nuclear family. This study, a rhetorical analysis that draws on hegemony theory, considers how two popular periodicals, The Saturday Evening Post *and* Good Housekeeping, *verbally and visually constructed that family in a way that would last throughout the century.*

The decade of the 1920s has been preserved in the American collective memory as a time of reckless freedom and disillusionment, an era when a "lost generation" of youth searched for escape through jazz, liquor, and sexual freedom. Some media of the era reinforced this characterization, supplying images of gin-swilling flappers, frat boys in coonskin coats, and world-weary urban sophisticates.[1] Yet other media, especially mass circulation magazines, painted a very different picture of the 1920s, describing a new kind of domesticity based on shared, "typical" values and defined in terms of the nuclear family. At the same time it seemed forward-looking, this picture was profoundly conservative: the typical American family was white and suburban, the typical mother was homebound, and the typical father was a corporate businessman. What's more, their typicality depended on their income, their ability to buy the goods that defined the modern "lifestyle."

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This article examines the initial verbal and visual articulation of 20th century family values in two popular periodicals, *The Saturday Evening Post* and *Good Housekeeping*, exploring the complex intersection of shifting gender ideals and political conservatism during this era. It echoes historian Ruth Schwartz Cowan's belief that the "feminine mystique" (generally considered a phenomenon of the 1950s) actually dates back to the 1920s, and broadens her argument to include fathers as well as mothers. It contends that this earlier mystique—which was championed in the most influential mass medium of the day, mass circulation magazines—constructed an American identity and symbolically erased from that identity citizens who did not fit the family ideal.

Shifting Cultural Ideals

This study adds to a growing body of cultural history on the role of popular magazines in the emergence of 20th century commercial culture. It was during the century's first three decades that media became "mass" in a truly national sense. These were also pivotal years in the history of gender, class, and race—a time when women's political status seemed about to change dramatically, when massive waves of immigration increased the country's ethnic diversity, when urbanization resulted in a new racial mix in cities, and when a new middle income group became the politically and economically dominant class in America.

Richard Ohmann and Matthew Schneirov have considered how changes in America's class structure shaped, and were shaped by, popular magazines; Jennifer Scanlon, Ellen Gruber Garvey, and Helen Damon-Moore have analyzed the gendering of consumer culture, including magazines, in the new century.[2] This article draws on such scholarship while assessing the interplay of these factors in shifting cultural ideals. It also adds a new dimension to the literature by considering the intertextuality of visual and verbal communication during this era.

Quite a few studies have examined either the editorial content or the artwork of *The Saturday Evening Post* of this period, including Jan Cohn's excellent book on its editor, George Horace Lorimer,[3] as well as works on the early years of the career of artist Norman Rockwell.[4] Since there are no major works on *Good Housekeeping* (aside from three books on the cover artist discussed here, Jessie Willcox Smith[5]), this article argues for the inclusion of that magazine in studies of the cultural impact of early 20th century mass media. It further supports the contention of Jennifer Scanlon (writing with regard to *The Ladies' Home Journal*) that magazines of this era were edited for an "average" reader rather than the full spectrum of their broad audiences. In its focus on the American

family, this study considers gender roles but argues that the typical family was defined primarily in terms of class and race—in terms of what editors and artists imagined to be the center of the US population's changing demographics in a time of significant population growth and economic mobility.

During the early 20th century, a new national advertising industry financially supported mass circulation magazines in return for access to growing audiences of consumers. Central to the success of this commercial formula—to the hegemony[6] of the producers of mass media as well as mass goods—were the ambitions of an emerging American middle class whose social and economic choices would determine how modern business would be done. Class was a fluid concept during this era, as more and more people thought of themselves as upwardly mobile—whether they were immigrants hoping to assimilate or native-born Americans hoping to improve their social and economic status.

Magazines fueled these aspirations. "Their pages were full of celebrations of rich and wonderful America," explain journalism historians John Tebbel and Mary Ellen Zuckerman. "The magazines that dealt with success . . . boasted circulations . . . in the hundreds of thousands."[7] Editors' assumption that readers' identities were in flux was suggested in the contradictory messages their magazines contained. Articles congratulated readers for being similar to one another; *Post* editor George Horace Lorimer even claimed that "the prime qualification of being an editor is being an ordinary man."[8] At the same time, they instructed readers in becoming better than other people, showing them the lifestyles and behavior of the rich and encouraging what Miles Orvell calls an "aesthetic of imitation" that "became the foundation of middle class culture."[9]

Cover imagery in particular, notes art historian Susan Meyer, offered readers "prototypes after which they could pattern themselves."[10] This paradox—the message that readers could achieve a desirable common status while also elevating themselves—underlay the magazines' increasingly conservative definition of the "typical" American of the 20th century.

As a rhetorical analysis, this study searches for not only what was "said" in these media, but also what (and who) was left out, as well as how certain messages were emphasized through repetition. It further embraces the notion that imagery as well as words can be read as a kind of language, an "iconology" (to use E. H. Gombrich's term) in which images have symbolic meaning that is culturally shared and historically grounded.[11]

To combine these perspectives, this analysis considers cover art, editorial matter, and advertisements that appeared in *Good Housekeeping* and *The Saturday Evening Post* over a period of nearly a decade and a half.

The relatively few specific examples discussed here were drawn from a larger study of both magazines during the 1910s and 1920s.[12] Rather than using a quantitative method of content analysis, this article employs what journalism historian Marion Marzolf called a "content assessment,"[13] a selection of representative[14] words and images analyzed with particular attention to their cultural and historical context.

Reshaping the American Family

In the first two decades of the 20th century, the notion of a "New Woman" was hotly debated and widely discussed in American media. A cultural construct that had emerged in the 1890s, the New Woman represented real changes in women's social, educational, economic, and political opportunities, including the entry of an increasing number of women into higher education and the professions[15] and culminating in the achievement of suffrage with the passage of the 19th Amendment in 1920. Even so, women's life patterns remained relatively consistent. Between 1890 and 1920, the marriage rate rose steadily, and until the Depression, fewer than 10 percent of US wives were in the workforce.[16]

One thing that *had* changed was the set of expectations Americans brought to the institution of marriage. The works of Freud, widely popularized in America in 1913, had validated women's sexuality, and the "new psychology" suggested that spouses should be emotionally as well as sexually compatible. Marriage became, for the first time, the primary relationship in both women's and men's lives.

The new companionate model for marriage coincided with an increasing interest of middle class men in home life. The "domestic man" spent time with his children and "made his wife, rather than his male associates, his regular companion on evenings out," writes historian Margaret Marsh.[17] Yet this modern father took his sons into the outdoors, where together they could experience the "strenuous life" that former President Theodore Roosevelt believed was essential to the strength of the nation's manhood—and the nation itself.[18]

Nature was also the backdrop for the new type of living space in which this family made its home: the suburb.[19] The factors of corporatization (providing stable incomes for white collar men), swelling urban populations, and advances in transportation combined to induce white families to leave cities and move to new housing developments in outlying areas. This trend coincided with "the emergence of residential covenants that prohibited Jews, blacks and in the West, Asians, from living in certain suburbs," notes Marsh.

For whites, the suburbs were part of a middle class vision of "masculine domesticity [and] marital togetherness," Marsh explains, yet their greater effect was the isolation of residents into families "centered around the demands of childrearing."[20] Thanks to the (limited) availability of birth control, parents had fewer worries about overly large families, so the children they did bear took on new status in the middle class household. Children were treasured and coveted, "becoming almost a commodity, a kind of consumer good that symbolized family completion and marital success."[21]

Not insignificantly, all of these phenomena—companionate heterosexuality, white families' flight to suburbia, and the idealization of parenthood—followed a decade of immigration, feminism, and labor radicalism. During the early 1910s, urban intellectuals joined the working poor in embracing Socialism and demonstrating for the rights of laborers. As they and Progressive-era reformers drew public attention to the immigrant presence in urban America, and as African Americans migrated from Jim Crow states to find work in northern cities, some American media began to acknowledge these parts of the population. New faces and issues appeared in political magazines such as *The Crisis*, published by the newly-formed National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the Socialist publication *The Masses*, which portrayed and championed the immigrant working class and radical feminists. They also appeared in more mainstream periodicals, such as the old *Life*, whose covers featured women as suffragists and as dance hall sirens.

Campaign for "Educated Motherhood"

By decade's end, however, such media images appeared less frequently. *The Masses* became a casualty of political conservatism during World War I. Eugenicist writers in medicine and science urged native-born whites to marry and have children in order to balance the growing numbers of the "lower" races arriving in northern cities from Eastern Europe, Russia, and the American South. Membership in the National Congress of Mothers more than tripled between 1915 and 1920, and in 1924, this organization evolved into the Parent-Teacher Association.[22] Much of the new campaign for "educated motherhood"[23] originated in professions such as psychology, medicine, and media. These experts instructed women to make motherhood their first priority and yet not to smother their children with too much attention.[24]

Such mixed messages produced uncertainty that itself became a problem to be solved by experts. Promotional material for the new *Parents* magazine, launched in 1926, explained: "Many of us cringe at the

revelation of our inadequacies . . . educators, psychiatrists, writers and social workers are turning their searchlights on Parents . . . [who] realize that instinct and tradition are not sufficient equipment for their highly important job."[25]

It is little wonder, then, that the covers of mass circulation magazines of the late 1910s and the 1920s depicted women and men as mothers and fathers, and increasingly showcased children themselves. The turn to domesticity was foreshadowed in a mid-1910s paradigm shift that occurred on the covers of both *Good Housekeeping* and *The Saturday Evening Post*. Through the end of 1915, *Good Housekeeping* had featured the cover drawings of Coles Phillips, an illustrator known for his "fadeaway girls"— slim, stylish young women whose dress patterns melted into the background color or design. The *Post*, meanwhile, had been a display case for J. C. Leyendecker's elegant elites, haughtily beautiful women and debonair men. But at the start of 1916, both magazines began long-term relationships with very different illustrators who specialized in homey scenes of family life: Jessie Willcox Smith and Norman Rockwell. The editorial material and advertisements that appeared inside these periodicals underscored the cover artists' visions.

Maternity and Childhood in *Good Housekeeping*

When she became *Good Housekeeping's* primary cover artist (a position she would hold for 17 years), Jessie Willcox Smith was already nationally known as an illustrator of mother-and-child scenes and, particularly, child life. Her advertising work for Ivory Soap in the 1890s had led to assignments from *Scribner's*, *Collier's*, and *Century*, as well as covers for *The Ladies' Home Journal*, *McClure's*, *Collier's*, and *Woman's Home Companion* featuring children. Smith herself never had children or married, yet she echoed the rhetoric of "maternalist" Progressive-era reformers, calling marriage and motherhood "the ideal life for a woman."[26]

Good Housekeeping's typical reader was indeed married and was likely to be in her late 20s or early 30s. At the time, notes Mary Ellen Zuckerman, audience surveys rarely reported race, "the assumption being that readers were white." The magazine ranked highest of all major women's titles in a 1922 study done by advertising firm J. Walter Thompson that rated the quality of readership by (husband's) occupation.[27]

More so than some of its competitors, *Good Housekeeping* cautiously embraced the women's rights movement. Though it stopped short of supporting the drive for suffrage, it published pro-suffrage opinions,[28] and after women gained the vote, the magazine encouraged its readers'

informed participation in the electoral process.[29] It ran a regular report from Washington by Francis Parkinson Keyes, a popular novelist and wife of a senator, who wrote about not just the social life of the nation's capital, but also political issues of the day.[30]

Even so, *Good Housekeeping*'s editorial pages centered on home care and motherhood. Beginning in the mid-1910s, the magazine published a monthly advice feature called "Mothers and Children" by Mrs. Louise Hogan. In May of 1916, Mrs. Hogan's "Mother's Day" column (referring to the holiday declared by Congress just two years earlier) advised mothers on how to avoid mental and physical exhaustion—not for their own sake, but for the sake of their children.

Another such article, illustrated by Smith, provided five pages of physicians' advice on what children should eat so they would not grow up to be "delicate or neurotic."[31] Advertisements in the magazine similarly described mothers' duties as something akin to science, requiring specialized skills linked to the use of new products. An ad in a 1916 issue explained that a child's health was "a question of food, hygiene and exercise. The food problem is easily solved with Shredded Wheat."[32]

By the 1920s, motherhood was being championed in *Good Housekeeping* by none other than Mrs. Charles Dana Gibson, wife of the well-known illustrator who had created some of the first visual representations of the New Woman during the 1890s. Mrs. Gibson, then heading a foster-child placement agency, urged readers to adopt if they were biologically unable to have children. She told the story of "a cultured, well-to-do woman—the kind of woman about whom one says, 'She has everything in the world'" but who in fact "was bored and lonely and purposeless." Her husband, "a busy executive," did not want a child, but to please his wife, he consented to adopt a daughter. The little girl charmed him and made them a complete family. "She's just what we have wanted for years, and we didn't know it," he exclaimed, speaking of his daughter as if she were a well-chosen purchase.[33]

After January 1916, such cherished children, drawn by Jessie Willcox Smith, romped regularly on the magazine's covers, and by the 1920s, they were seen by a million Americans every month. This decade was a turning point for the publication; its circulation, which had been only about 300,000 in the early teens, would reach two million in the 1930s.[34] The nearly 200 covers Smith drew for the magazine between 1917 and 1933 were a large part of the publication's editorial identity and success. *Good Housekeeping* further marketed reproductions of her drawings on items such as postcards and china. Through these collectibles—such as her Madonna-and-Child plate series, offered by mail-order—the magazine's idyllic cover imagery was saved and displayed in readers' homes.

Good Housekeeping
OCTOBER
1920
25 CENTS
CASTLES IN SPAIN By Frances Parkinson Keyes
Mariel Brady ~ Frederic F. Van de Water ~ Sarah Addington
Emma-Lindsay Squier ~ Konrad Bercovici
PARIS AUTUMN OPENINGS

Figure 1

"Keep that schoolgirl complexion"

The presence of children in almost all of Smith's cover illustrations was a clear sign that the woman accompanying them was (by virtue of having borne a child) a woman, not the carefree "flapper" girl of the Jazz Age. Smith's women were serious, calm, self-assured, and serene, yet they were hardly Victorian matrons. In her view, the 20th century American mother was slim, pretty, and fashionable, a youthful woman who no doubt followed the advice of a 1927 Palmolive Soap ad in the magazine, which reminded readers of the need to "keep that schoolgirl complexion" long "after school days."[35] In Figure 1, for example, the apple-gathering mother's modernity was conveyed by her knee-length pleated skirt, the straps of her stylish shoes, her unselfconscious display of leg, and her bobbed hair.

These covers presented not just the modern woman, but also the new suburban mother, since many of Smith's cover scenes had outdoor backdrops. In most images, the woman's body was angled sideways or downward, directing the readers' eyes toward the child. On the mass-circulation magazine cover of the 1920s, motherhood was more about the child than the mother. In fact, many covers were of children only, usually shown in the world of nature, such as the young siblings ice skating in Figure 2 (in which the older sister's deferential pose imitated that of mothers in other drawings).

Smith's subjects could be overly-idealized, but many were shown in activities and poses that were universal. Her drawings were "so representative of the American youngster that the publication received numerous letters from concerned mothers in all parts of the country" who thought that Smith had somehow drawn *their* children, notes biographer S. Michael Schnessel.[36] Smith saved one of these, sent in 1926 by a Massachusetts mother who wrote, "I was very much thrilled on seeing the November cover of *Good Housekeeping*, to find that my two darling children were portrayed thereon . . . Where and when did you see the children?"[37]

The fact that Smith drew primarily toddlers increased her subjects' typicality: they were cherubs rather than little people with individuality. Her favorite cover subject was Everychild. The same device was employed, in art and articles, by the era's top-circulation magazine, *The Saturday Evening Post*.

Domestic Manhood in "America's Family Magazine"

Though Norman Rockwell is now best remembered for his *Post* covers of the mid-20th century, his affiliation with the magazine and his signature family scenes date to 1916. Like Smith, Rockwell (already a

Good Housekeeping
FEBRUARY
1929
25 CENTS
35 CENTS IN CANADA
Beginning Faith Baldwin's New Novel
Ida Tarbell – Ruth Suckow – Norma Patterson
Vera Connolly – Osa Johnson – Bruce Barton

Figure 2

contributor to *Boys' Life* and *Youth's Companion*[38]) preferred drawing children, who were the subjects of 90 percent of his *Post* covers between 1916 and 1919 and half of all his covers for that magazine during the 1920s.[39]

Christopher Finch notes that the artist's characters—"the protagonists of his little dramas," which centered on "the small crises of everyday life"—were "familiar icons." Moreover, "all the images seem[ed] somehow connected. They belong[ed] to the same world."[40] Yet the artist's scenarios only *seemed* familiar; in post-war America, Rockwell's world was in fact a Utopian construction, what the artist himself described as "life as I would like it to be."[41] Rockwell's hopes coincided with those of *Post* editor George Horace Lorimer, who made content suggestions for many of Rockwell's covers.[42]

Initially edited for men, the *Post* became a "family magazine" during the 1910s. Lorimer still imagined his primary readers as "the ambitious young men of the great middle class American public" but thought of his broader audience as "the whole of American mainstream society."[43] His editorials honored "the desire of every man to be the architect of his own fortunes." He assured readers that "there is still room at the top, or pretty near the top, for literally millions of men and women who possess the requisite industry, good judgment, frugality, knowledge of human nature, persistence, intelligence and integrity." Such a person would inevitably succeed, "no matter how humble his beginning," he wrote in a 1920 issue of his five-cent magazine.[44]

The notion of the reader as "ambitious" was central to the *Post*'s editorial identity in this era, and upward mobility was frequently discussed in terms of family life. A 1923 ad showed two little girls and proclaimed, "In 10 years, Mother, one of these children will be enjoying social advantages which the other can never hope to attain." The ad copy, which promoted a series of phonograph records, played to middle class class anxieties and ambitions: "home musical training is all-important, inviting that subtle advantage of personality which enables some persons to advance so much further, in the keen struggle of life . . . . [to] take their places, without embarrassment, among people of broad culture."[45]

In editorials, in ads, and in the Horatio-Alger-like profiles common in the *Post*, the magazine attempted to engender "a sense of nationalism strong enough to override America's regional differences"[46]—a seemingly classless society united by a "typical" family ideal. In keeping with this mission, writes *Post* historian Starkey Flythe, Jr., Rockwell's cover scenes "made America home, a comfortable sort of place where Main Street and Fifth Avenue exist in an easy truce and the great and the small have equal-sized emotions, pleasures and pains."[47]

This vision reached a readership of more than two million at the decade's start and nearly three million at its end.[48] Yet even an audience this huge was not, in fact, classless. The Curtis Publishing Company, which owned the *Post*, required its subscription salesmen to work according to "control maps" that identified "the better residential areas," and the company expressly forbade them to visit black and immigrant neighborhoods.

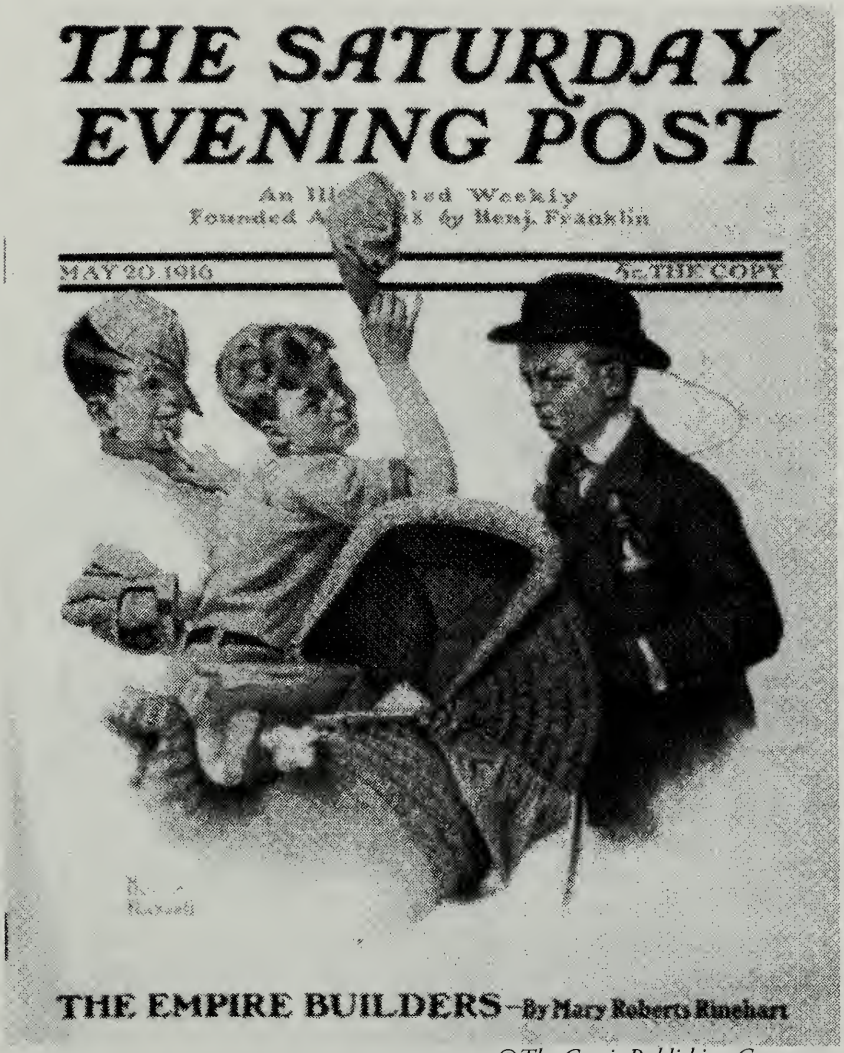
The magazine's circulation growth in the 1920s thus represented the middle class white families advertisers wanted most to reach, and by 1926, annual advertising revenue passed $50 million.[49] Weekly issues ran over 200 pages and included political commentary, humor, romantic fiction, and instruction—something for every member of the family.[50] And every member of the family appeared on Rockwell's covers.

Rockwell drew female figures quite differently than had his main predecessors in magazine illustration, artists such as Charles Dana Gibson, Harrison Fisher, and Howard Chandler Christy, who specialized in glamorous young debutantes. "I paint the kind of girls your mother would want you to marry," Rockwell himself noted.[51] His cover *women* were mothers themselves—though not Smith's modern madonnas. In Rockwell's world, the mother was often the smothering figure experts warned about, something to be resisted by the child, who was usually a boy. The curator of one Rockwell collection noted this theme in a 1918 *Post* cover depicting a boy's first professional haircut, a scene in which the artist "enable[d] the observer to see the boy's glee at his shearing, suggesting that his life ha[d] moved on a niche, leaving his mother behind while he enter[ed] the world of men, symbolized by the debonair barber."[52]

Search for Masculinity

The American boy's search for masculinity was a common thread in the artist's work. While a well-groomed barber embodied one version of that ideal, Rockwell's art even more often emphasized "a youthful masculinity constructed around physical prowess," notes scholar Eric Segal.[53] The frowning boy in Figure 3 suffered the taunts of his athletic friends not only because of his own "debonair" appearance, but also because he was saddled with the unwanted femininity of a lace-capped baby sister. ("The best part of the gag was the baby's bottle in the boy's pocket," Rockwell later recalled. "I received lots of letters about his humiliation."[54])

In this era, such images had as much to do with adults as with children. Rockwell's depiction of boyhood was only one example of a preoccupation with masculinity in the larger culture. His boy athletes



©The Curtis Publishing Company

Figure 3

were visualizations of the strenuous life to be led by boys outdoors, away from the corrupting influences of the city and the feminizing influence of women. Psychologists saw rugged boyhood as the solution to diminished white manhood, convinced that "it was the innate primitive savagery of young boys that could point the way to the resolution of the crisis of masculinity" and that adult males "should learn to be more like boys and less like overcivilized men," writes historian Michael Kimmel. In this view, "the savage child could be father to the man and reinstill manly behavior."[55]

Rockwell's *Post* covers of the early 1920s confirmed this desire for masculine transformation while also poking fun at it. His football players appeared stunned at the moment of tackle; a scrawny pre-adoloscent lifted dumbbells beneath a poster of a circus strongman. Yet these boys inevitably matured into men, and despite their childhood chagrin at babysitting, they eventually married and raised families of their own. Rockwell drew fathers not in the world of business, but in the domestic world of their families. This setting, and the notion that it was natural for men, was repeated verbally and visually inside the magazine.

Though he was still Lorimer's ideal businessman, the modern father portrayed in the *Post* made the most of weekends and vacations and found much of his identity in his family. This man appeared in *Post* articles and even in advertisements. One 1923 ad (Figure 4) showed a suited man leaning back in a rocking chair and holding a bowl of soapy water from which a young boy, seated on his knees, blew bubbles; the discarded newspaper at his feet was turned to the comic strip "Bringing Up Father." The copy proclaimed Palm Beach Suits the perfect attire for "A Summer Sunday morning when you drop your paper for a romp on the porch with the kids; during a heat-prophesying and heat-generating sermon; [or] a week-day business engagement in a stuffy office . . ."[56]

In the new suburban domestic ideal of the 1920s, Americans were organized into family *units* that negotiated the world together and symbolized American progress through clean living. Rockwell drew them eating and relaxing at home, fishing and playing sports in the outdoors; though they might look exhausted by a summer vacation (on one late-summer cover, literally collapsed together), he would pile them right back into their automobiles to go out and explore life anew. On *Post* covers, the family became a single image of the good life in America.

Inventing Middle America

"People like to think that Rockwell painted Middle America," notes art scholar Tom Sgouros. "The truth is, Norman Rockwell invented

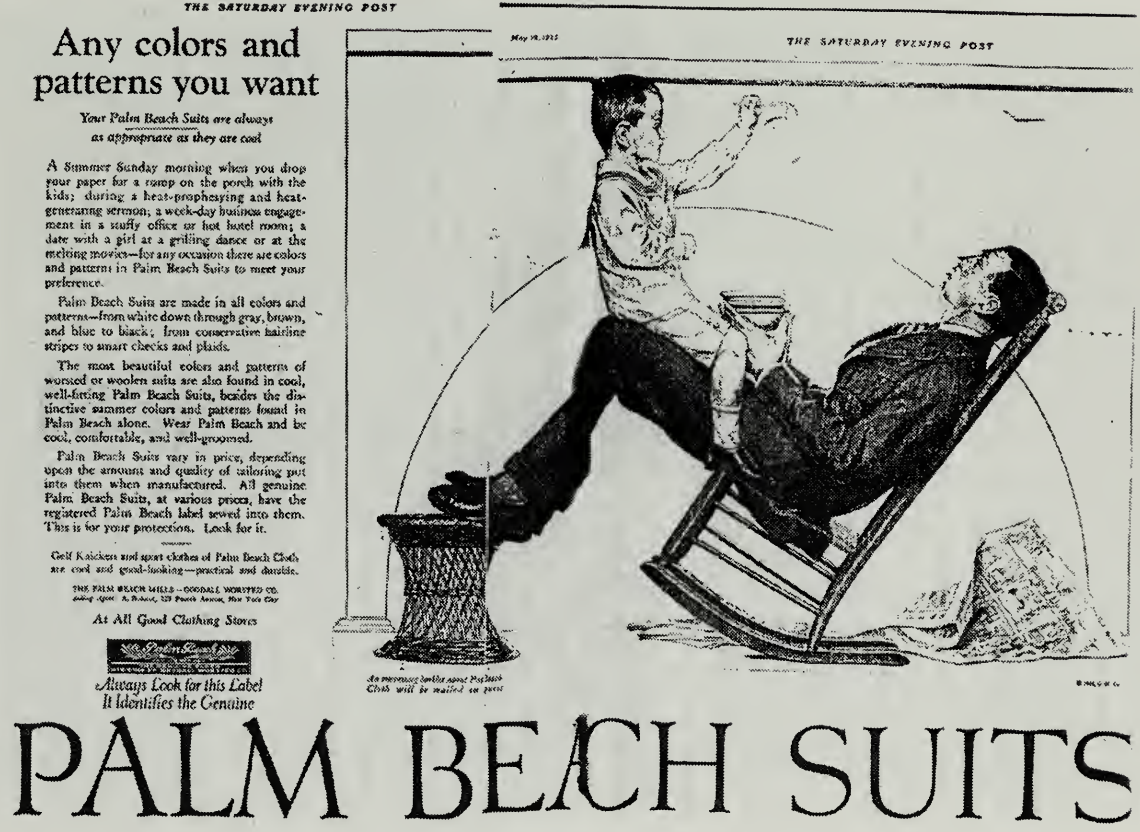

THE SATURDAY EVENING POST
Any colors and patterns you want
Your Palm Beach Suits are always as appropriate as they are cool
A Summer Sunday morning when you drop your paper for a romp on the porch with the kids; during a heat-prophesying and heat-generating sermon; a week-day business engagement in a stuffy office or hot hotel room; a date with a girl at a grilling dance or at the melting movies—for any occasion there are colors and patterns in Palm Beach Suits to meet your preference.
Palm Beach Suits are made in all colors and patterns—from white down through gray, brown, and blue to black; from conservative hairline stripes to smart checks and plaids.
The most beautiful colors and patterns of worsted or woolen suits are also found in cool, well-fitting Palm Beach Suits, besides the distinctive summer colors and patterns found in Palm Beach alone. Wear Palm Beach and be cool, comfortable, and well-groomed.
Palm Beach Suits vary in price, depending upon the amount and quality of tailoring put into them when manufactured. All genuine Palm Beach Suits, at various prices, have the registered Palm Beach label sewed into them. This is for your protection. Look for it.
Golf Knickers and sport clothes of Palm Beach Cloth are cool and good-looking—practical and durable.
THE PALM BEACH MILLS—GOODALL WORSTED CO.
At All Good Clothing Stores
Always Look for this Label
It Identifies the Genuine
THE SATURDAY EVENING POST
PALM BEACH SUITS

Figure 4

Middle America."[57] So did Jessie Willcox Smith with her modernized mother-and-child tableaux on the covers of *Good Housekeeping*, and so too did the writers, editors, and advertising copywriters whose visions filled the pages of popular magazines in the 1920s.

This world was not merely prescriptive. The magazines' focus on domesticity was rooted in broader developments that had to do with new views of urban and pastoral life and changing ideas about masculinity, femininity, marriage, and childhood in the new century. Yet it also was rooted in—and in turn fostered—the country's shift toward political conservativism and economic consumerism, the emergence of a society defined in terms of an ideal lifestyle to which all readers could (and should) aspire.

The typical family, a concept that became conflated with Americanism itself, left out the kinds of people—people of color, the working class and poor, working women, political radicals—whose presence had been more noticeable in public life and popular culture of the early 1910s. The soaring circulations of both magazines in the 1920s suggested that such a vision resonated among white, middle class citizens, whose consent had indeed been won in a hegemonic political and commercial process.

This picture of a "new family," transmitted to millions of Americans on a weekly and monthly basis, signaled a post-Progressive and postwar return to "normalcy" even while it defined what was normal. Though cast as modern and up-to-date, the new family of the 20th century was actually the old family of the 19th century: patriarchal, child-centered, insulated, and exclusive.

Media producers have continued to describe American life in terms of an average family, following a model that was set in place three decades before the better-recognized media celebration of mid-century suburban domesticity. Mass-circulation periodicals of the 1920s created a "mystique" that was a backlash against political currents of the century's early years, that would re-emerge following the Depression and World War II—and that would surface yet again in the 1980s, after two decades of activism centering on race, gender and poverty issues.

At century's end, even as diversity is widely discussed in popular media, the representational American ideal remains quite similar to 1920s imagery: a suburban, nuclear family which is most often white and middle class. By defining this modern family, magazines such as *The Saturday Evening Post* and *Good Housekeeping* created a media icon with political and commercial currency that will last well into the 21st century.

Endnotes

[1]See, for instance, the old *Life*, *The New Republic*, and, at the end of the 1920s, *The New Yorker*.

[2]Richard Ohmann, *Selling Culture: Magazines, Markets, and Class at the Turn of the Century* (London and New York: Verso, 1996); Matthew Schneirov, *The Dream of a New Social Order: Popular Magazines in America 1893-1914* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994); Jennifer Scanlon, *Inarticulate Longings:* The Ladies' Home Journal, *Gender, and the Promises of Consumer Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995); Ellen Gruber Garvey, *The Adman in the Parlor: Magazines and the Gendering of Consumer Culture, 1880s to 1910s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); and Helen Damon-Moore, *Magazines for the Millions: Gender and Commerce in* The Ladies' Home Journal *and* The Saturday Evening Post, *1880-1910* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994).

[3]Jan Cohn, *Creating America: George Horace Lorimer and the* Saturday Evening Post (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1989).

[4]These works include Rockwell's autobiography, *My Adventures as an Illustrator* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1988), as well as biographies and collections of his work: Laurie Norton Moffat, *Norman Rockwell: A Definitive Catalog* (Stockbridge, MA: The Norman Rockwell Museum at Stockbridge, 1986); Thomas S. Buechner, *Norman Rockwell: A Sixty Year Retrospective* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1972); Donald Walton, *A Rockwell Portrait: An Intimate Biography* (Kansas City: Sheed Andrews and McMeel, 1978); *Norman Rockwell and* The Saturday Evening Post *(1916-1928)* (Philadelphia: Rittenhouse Press, 1976); Robin Langley Sommer, ed., *Norman Rockwell: A Classic Treasury* (London: Bison Books, 1993); Christopher Finch, *Norman Rockwell: 322 Magazine Covers* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1979); Starkey Flythe, Jr., ed., *The* Saturday Evening Post *Norman Rockwell Book* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1986); and Arthur L. Guptill, *Norman Rockwell, Illustrator* (New York: Watson-Guptill Publications, 1946).

[5]S. Michael Schnessel, *Jessie Willcox Smith* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1977); Gene Mitchell, *The Subject Was Children: The Art of Jessie Willcox Smith* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1979); and Edward D. Nudelman, *Jessie Willcox Smith: A Bibliography* (Gretna: Pelican Publishing, 1989). The first two are essentially coffee-table books, not works of critical scholarship.

[6]The concept of hegemony—first articulated by Italian political theorist Antonio Gramsci—is used here not as a synonym for dominance, but as a way of describing the relationship that exists between leaders and followers, or, in a commercial power structure, producers and consumers. Gramsci refined Marxist theory by contending that the consent of a populace is not enforced by some monolithic power; rather, the acceptance of certain ideas and conditions seems to be a choice freely made by a majority of people (*Selections from Prison Notebooks*, trans. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith [London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1971], 80, 182).

[7]John Tebbel and Mary Ellen Zuckerman, *The Magazine in America, 1741-1990* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 76.

[8]George Horace Lorimer, quoted in Amy Janello and Brennon Jones, *The American Magazine* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1991), 62.

[9]Miles Orvell, *The Real Thing: Imitation and Authenticity in American Culture, 1880-1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 49-50.

[10]Susan E. Meyer, *Norman Rockwell's People* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1981), 20.

[11]This approach is based on the theoretical groundwork of visual theorists Erwin Panofsky and E. H. Gombrich, the latter of whom maintained that imagery "cannot be divorced from its purpose and requirements of the society in which the given visual language gains currency"—in other words, from its social, economic, and historical context (Erwin Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts* [Garden City, NY: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1955]; E. H. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation* [Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1960], 9, 90).

[12]Carolyn L. Kitch, "The Girl on the Magazine Cover: Gender, Class, and the Emergence of Visual Stereotypes in American Mass Media, 1895-1930," (Ph. D. diss., Temple University, 1998).

[13]Marion Marzolf, "American Studies—Ideas for Media Historians?" *Journalism History* 5, no. 1 (Spring 1978), 15.

[14]I have necessarily selected only a few examples of a vast amount of material. Yet my characterization of "representative" editorial and artwork from these magazines during this era is confirmed in other studies of this work, including Cohn, *Creating America*; Moffat, *Norman Rockwell*; Schnessel,

Jessie Willcox Smith; and Mitchell, *The Subject Was Children*.

[15]Women comprised 35 percent of all college students in 1890 and nearly half in 1920; the percentage of professionals who were female rose from 35 to 44 percent between 1900 and 1920 (Nancy F. Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* [New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987], 148, 350n4).

[16]Elaine Tyler May, *Great Expectations: Marriage and Divorce in Post-Victorian America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 117, 167.

[17]Margaret Marsh, *Suburban Lives* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1990), 76.

[18]Theodore Roosevelt, "The Strenuous Life," in *The Strenuous Life: Essays and Addresses* (New York: The Century Co., 1901), 1-21.

[19]While this retreat of middle-class whites from the city did not occur on a significant scale until the early 20th century, the concept of the suburb—and the word itself—existed in American culture as early as 1870 (Marsh, *Suburban Lives*, 192n16).

[20]Marsh, *Suburban Lives*, 69, 129, 184.

[21]Margaret Marsh and Wanda Ronner, *The Empty Cradle: Infertility in America from Colonial Times to the Present* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 112-113.

[22]Molly Ladd-Taylor, *Mother-Work: Women, Child Welfare, and the State, 1890-1930* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 44.

[23]I am borrowing this term from Sheila M. Rothman, *Woman's Proper Place: A History of Changing Ideals and Practices, 1870 to the Present* (New York: Basic Books, 1978), 177.

[24]Nancy F. Cott, Introduction, *Root of Bitterness: Documents of the Social History of American Women*, ed. Nancy F. Cott (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1972); Rothman, *Woman's Proper Place*, 211.

[25]Quoted in Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism*, 170.

[26]Smith also illustrated several well-known children's books. For more on her background, see: Schnessel, *Jessie Willcox Smith*; Mitchell, *The Subject Was Children*; Nudelman, *Jessie Willcox Smith*; Catherine Connell Stryker, "The Studios at Cogslea," February 20-28, 1976 (Wilmington: Delaware Museum of Art, 1976); "Jessie Willcox Smith," *Good Housekeeping* (October 1917), 190-191; Patricia Likos, "The Ladies of the Red Rose," *The Feminist Art Journal* 5 (Fall 1976), 11-15, 43; and Christine Jones Huber, "The Pennsylvania Academy and Its Women, 1850 to 1920," 3 May –16 June 1973 (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1974). The quote is from Stryker, "The Studios at Cogslea," 12.

[27]Mary Ellen Zuckerman, *A History of Popular Women's Magazines in the United States, 1792-1995* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998), 133; J. Walter Thompson, "Analysis of the Subscription Circulation of 44 Magazines" (1922), quoted in Zuckerman, 134.

[28]One reason may have been the fact that Anna Kelton Wiley—wife of Dr. John Wiley, the director of the Good Housekeeping Institute—was a member of the militant Woman's Party. In February 1918, the magazine published her views in "Why We Picketed the White House" (beginning with an italicized disclaimer that "*Good Housekeeping* does not believe in picketing the White House") (29, 124-125).

[29]For instance, Elizabeth Frazer, "Say It with Ballots," *Good Housekeeping* 74 (June 1922), 27-28, 186, 189-190.

[30]In 1923, Mrs. Keyes covered the International Women's Suffrage Alliance meeting in Rome for the magazine (Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines* V [1905-1930] [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968], 134).

[31]Mrs. Louise Hogan, "Mothers and Children," *Good Housekeeping* (March 1916), 321-325.

[32]Advertisement, *Good Housekeeping* (February 1916), 13.

[33]Mrs. Charles Dana Gibson, "When a Child Adopts You," *Good Housekeeping* 85 (July 1927), 79, 133-134, 136, 139.

[34]Mott, *A History of American Magazines* V, 133, 136.

[35]Advertisement, *Good Housekeeping* (November 1927), n. p., in the Alice Marshall Collection, Penn State Harrisburg (Harrisburg, PA).

[36]Schnessel, *Jessie Willcox Smith*, 124.

[37]Constance Bell Pearson, Beverly, MA, to Jessie Willcox Smith, c/o *Good Housekeeping*, d. October

28, 1926, Jessie Willcox Smith papers, Archives of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts (Philadelphia, PA).

[38]At the start of his career, Rockwell's work also appeared in *American Boy*, *St. Nicholas*, *American Farm and Fireside*, *Literary Digest*, *Life*, *Judge*, *Leslie's Weekly*, the *American Magazine*, and *Collier's*.

[39]Buechner, *Norman Rockwell: A Sixty Year Retrospective*, 52.

[40]Finch, *Norman Rockwell: 322 Magazine Covers*, 8-11.

[41]Rockwell, *My Adventures as an Illustrator*, 34.

[42]Laurie Norton Moffat, "Norman Rockwell: Illustrator of America's Heritage," *American History Illustrated* 21, no. 8 (December 1986), 27.

[43]Mott, *A History of American Magazines* IV (1885-1905), 688; Damon-Moore, *Magazines for the Millions*, 154.

[44]George Horace Lorimer, "Is Success Personal?" *The Saturday Evening Post* (April 10, 1920), 30.

[45]Advertisement, *The Saturday Evening Post* (January 20, 1923), 86-87.

[46]Jan Cohn, *Covers of* The Saturday Evening Post*: Seventy Years of Outstanding Illustration from America's Favorite Magazine* (New York: Viking, 1995), 2.

[47]Flythe, Foreword, *The* Saturday Evening Post *Norman Rockwell Book*, vii.

[48]Mott, *A History of American Magazines* IV, 696.

[49]*A Study of City Markets, 1928-1929* (Philadelphia: Curtis Publishing Company, 1930), 1, quoted in Zuckerman, *A History of Popular Women's Magazines in the United States*, 132; Mott, *A History of American Magazines* IV, 696.

[50]Cohn, *Creating America*, 165.

[51]Rockwell, *My Adventures as an Illustrator*, 34.

[52]This interpretation is from *Norman Rockwell and* The Saturday Evening Post *(1916-1928)*, 27.

[53]Eric J. Segal, "Norman Rockwell and the Fashioning of American Masculinity," *Art Bulletin* 78, no. 4 (December 1996), 637. In his study of the artist's work during the 1910s and 1920s, Segal divides the era's "competing versions of white, middle-class American masculinity" into "sartorial masculinity that [was] based on fashion and taste" and "corporal masculinity," a matter of "bodily fortitude" (633).

[54]Quoted in Guptill, *Norman Rockwell, Illustrator*, 152.

[55]Michael Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History* (New York: The Free Press, 1996), 164. Kimmel is referring to claims first made in psychologist G. Stanley Hall's 1904 landmark study *Adolescence: Its Psychology and Its Relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion and Education*, 2 vols. (New York: Appleton, 1904). The outdoor ideal was manifested in organizations such as the new Boy Scouts of America, whose annual calendar Rockwell illustrated for 53 years.

[56]Advertisement, *The Saturday Evening Post* (19 May 1923), 94-95.

[57]Quoted in Verlyn Klinkenborg, "Pyle and Rockwell—Totally American, Yet Not at All Alike," *Smithsonian* 25, no. 4 (1994), 93.

Conserving Racial Segregation in 1954: *Brown* v. *Board of Education* and the Mississippi Daily Press

By Susan Weill

Every issue of the 20 daily Mississippi newspapers published in May 1954, when the Brown *v.* Board of Education *Supreme Court decision mandated racial integration of public schools, and August 1954, the month before school was to begin that year, was analyzed for this study. From 1,200 issues of the microfilmed newspapers, 62 editorials and 353 news articles and headlines, findings show that the consensus among editors of the Mississippi daily press regarding* Brown *was (1) Mississippians, black and white, were not ready for the reality of a racially integrated society, and (2) national civil rights laws supplanted stateís and individual rights. According to the vast majority of the Mississippi daily press editorials examined, the notion that blacks and whites were equal as races of people was a concept that remained unacceptable and inconceivable. The study also found, contrary to what media critics have reported about the promotion of violence to suppress civil rights activity in the Southern press, that Mississippi daily newspapers never encouraged or condoned violence during the time period studied.*

"We shall resist by every legal means at our command"
—*Mississippi Governor Hugh White.*[1]

An agricultural economy, a socially conservative white mentality, and a large black underclass defined Mississippi in the 1950s. The state was largely rural, the capital city of Jackson was the only actual metropolitan

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area, and the racial composition was unique to the country. In no other state did blacks constitute such a large percentage of the population as they did in Mississippi, where for more than a century they had, as the descendants of slaves, comprised a majority. In 1954, the lack of education, denial of involvement in the political process, and burden of poverty hung over them in the dark cloud of second class citizenship.[2]

When the United States Supreme Court declared racially segregated public schools unconstitutional with *Brown* v. *Board of Education* in 1954—a mandate considered "a sort of second emancipation proclamation" [3]—the court's 1896 "separate but equal" *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* ruling had been the law of the land for more than half a century. An end to public school segregation had become a goal of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) because in 17 Southern states black and white students attended segregated schools that were definitely separate, but certainly not equal.[4] As Mississippi historian Neil McMillen observed, "Throughout the Jim Crow era, the single greatest impediment to better Afro-American schools was white fear of the revolutionary and economic implications of educating a subservient workforce."[5]

Plessy v. *Ferguson* had been ignored in Mississippi. In 1950, black students constituted nearly 60 percent of the public school pupils in Mississippi, but they received only 20 percent of public school funds.[6] Salaries for black teachers averaged $1,109, compared to $1,991 for white teachers (the US average was $3,605).[7] Most of Mississippi's black schools in 1954 were situated in privately-owned buildings, such as black churches, and consequently not eligible for public funding for repairs or improvement. Most of them had no water supply. One school official thought them "unfit even for cotton storage," while another described them as "hardly better than cattle sheds."[8]

For the Mississippi press, as well as the Southern and national press, the social and cultural repercussions of civil rights mandates which threatened the status quo, such as Brown, were one of the ongoing sagas of the1950s.[9] Whether American newspapers have ever done a sufficient job of reporting social challenges has been the object of debate for more than a century. The Southern press has often been the target of scorn in this regard, and the Mississippi press has been viewed with particular disdain.[10]

Mississippi press reaction to the civil rights movement has not been studied extensively, although several researchers have addressed the issue.[11] The purpose of this particular study, therefore, is to evaluate coverage of *Brown* v. *Board of Education* by the Mississippi daily press and to explore the manner in which those newspapers fought to preserve the traditional Southern way of life, in May 1954, when the decision was

handed down, and in August 1954, when the 1954-55 school year began. The Mississippi press declared the Brown decision an unconstitutional and illegal action of the United States Supreme Court, an assault on states' rights that threatened the fabric of Mississippi society, and an affront to both blacks and whites—all of whom preferred, according to the editors, racial segregation.

The Mississippi newspapers included are: *Clarksdale Press Register*, Columbus *Commercial Dispatch*, Corinth *Daily Corinthian*, Greenville *Delta Democrat-Times*, *Greenwood Commonwealth*, Greenwood *Morning Star*, Grenada *Sentinel-Star*, Gulfport *Daily Herald*, *Hattiesburg American*, Jackson *Clarion-Ledger*, Jackson *Daily News*, *Laurel Leader-Call*, McComb *Enterprise-Journal*, *Meridian Star*, *Natchez Democrat*, Natchez *Times*, Tupelo *Daily Journal*, *Vicksburg Herald*, *Vicksburg Evening Post* and the West Point *Times Leader.*

Few *Brown* Editorials

Wire service news stories announced the *Brown* v. *Board of Education* decision as front page news in all 20 Mississippi daily newspapers,[12] but the editors responded in 1954 to Brown with less than half the editorial opinions with which they had addressed the Dixiecrat protest of President Harry Truman's civil rights re-election platform six years earlier in 1948.[13] Perhaps words seemed futile against a Supreme Court decision. Or possibly, the lack of more editorial opinions regarding Brown was that the editors knew *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* had not been enforced for 50 years, and Brown may have been viewed as simply another token attempt at change.

The number of blacks in the communities served by the Mississippi daily newspapers in 1954, with percentages that ranged from 14 to 72, seemed to have no impact on editorial opinion regarding Brown. In Clarksdale, where the Coahoma County black population was the highest in the state at 72 percent,[14] editor Joseph Ellis, Jr., published a syndicated column by James Marlow denouncing the court order as a violation of the *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* mandate.[15] In Corinth, on the other hand, where Alcorn County's black population was the smallest represented in this study at 14 percent,[16] the *Daily Corinthian* also utilized Marlow's opinion.[17]

The editorial protest to Brown was supported by most of the Mississippi daily press. In Columbus, the Lowndes County population was 48 percent black in 1954,[18] and editor Birney Imes mentioned Brown only twice in his opinion columns. He observed without explanation in one front page editorial, "I think the Supreme Court decision was born a hundred years too soon."[19] An understanding of what Imes meant might be to note that he lowercased the word Negro in his text, which

was often done to imply inferiority. The headline to the AP story announcing the decision in the Columbus *Commercial Dispatch* proposed an alternative to those opposed to *Brown*, "Abolish Public School System Declares Sillers."[20] Walter Sillers was the Speaker of the Mississippi House of Representatives in 1954.

West of Columbus toward the Mississippi River, the *Greenwood Commonwealth* and the Greenwood *Morning Star* served a small Delta town that would become the site of the national office of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee during Freedom Summer in 1964. The Leflore County population in 1954 was 68 percent black,[21] and editor Tom Shepherd of the *Greenwood Commonwealth* published only one opinion pertaining to *Brown*: "Abolition of segregation required by the recent Supreme Court decision would not of itself remove the deficiencies in our schools [lack of books, equipment]. It would simply mean, under present conditions, that some negro [sic] children would go to better schools and some white children would go to worse."[22]

Across town, editor Virgil Adams of the Greenwood *Morning Star* viewed *Brown* as inevitable and the consequences of the decision detrimental to both blacks and whites. The day after the decision, Adams voiced his fears and pleaded for calm until a "solution" could be found: "Unless advocates of segregation in the South come up with some new angle to the laws regarding segregation, it is only a matter of months, or perhaps a year, until enforcement of the new ruling will be put into effect. This means that the South must adjust itself for the impact of the mixing of the races in at least part of the schools. We fully expect there will be a greater inter-marriage of the races and some other evil effects which are not good for either race."[23]

The next day, Adams complained that the high court had overstepped its intended purpose of interpreting laws and had cast itself as a maker of laws with *Brown*.[24] In August, Adams tried to explain his support of segregation, "It is not prejudice, but a measure which has proven itself best for both races."[25]

East of Greenwood in Grenada, where the last school desegregation riot of record in Mississippi took place in 1966,[26] the Grenada County population was 52 percent black,[27] and editor M.M. Grimes of the *Sentinel-Star* offered no editorial comment in May 1954 regarding *Brown*. He did cover the decision in front page news articles from UP and AP throughout the month, however headlines emphasized ways to avoid segregation and questioned the constitutionality of the decision.[28]

On the Mississippi Gulf Coast, the Gulfport *Daily Herald* was edited in 1954 by Eugene Wilkes, whose father George had founded the newspaper in 1884. The Coast had been settled by immigrants from many

countries, including Lebanon, Yugoslavia and Italy, and because of the ethnic diversity of its population, the area has long held a reputation as the most politically tolerant area of the state.[29] The population on the Gulf Coast was about 20 percent black in 1954,[30] and Wilkes offered a single editorial opinion pertaining to *Brown*: "In spite of the historic background embodied in the word segregation, we feel the Negro and the white desire to go right ahead in shaping the schools of the South into the best in the United States for each race to use as its own."[31]

In Forrest County, where the population was 28 percent black in 1954,[32] *Hattiesburg American* editor Andrews Harmon attempted to convince his readers that it was in the best interests of everyone, black and white, to keep the schools racially segregated: "The truth is that 98 percent of the Negroes in the South do not want to attend schools with white people. One of the South's great crises can be lessened if the honest, faithful Negroes resist efforts by outside agitators."[33]

Harmon made no reference to where he acquired his information about what blacks did, or did not, want, but his pronouncement that most desired segregated schools was certainly contrary to what the NAACP reported.[34] In August that summer, before schools opened for the 1954-1955 school year, Harmon encouraged his readers to act on their beliefs: "If all the people of Mississippi want to retain racial segregation in the public schools, they can do it simply by standing together. No power on earth can compel more than a million people to do something that is against the law of God and nature."[35]

North into the Piney Woods in Laurel, where the Jones County population was 26 percent black,[36] editor Harriet Gibbons of the *Laurel Leader-Call* was the only woman editor of a Mississippi daily newspaper in 1954. She published a single editorial regarding Brown and her focus was to praise the state's leaders for their restraint and discretion: "Nothing is gained by politicians taking this subject as an opportunity for inflaming passion and arousing prejudice."[37]

Defending the "Anglo-Saxon Way of Life"

Northeast from Laurel in Meridian, Lauderdale County was 36 percent black in 1954.[38] James H. Skewes, a Wisconsin newspaperman, had purchased the *Meridian Star* in 1922 and was firmly at the helm until 1958.[39] Skewes had no qualms about making his editorial opinions known, and although his prose was sometimes difficult to comprehend because of his erratic writing style, his ideas came across loud and clear. There was no uncertainty that strides toward civil rights were viewed in an almost paranoid manner by Skewes, as stated in the editorial banner,

"We Rise to Defend Our Anglo-Saxon Way of Life."[40] Skewes' staunch Southern conservatism was played out in his editorial pages, although he penned only two editorials regarding *Brown*. Two days after the 1954 decision, the *Meridian Star* published Skewes' opinion, "We violently disagree with Supreme Court school segregation politics and we shall by all expedience persevere our Mid-South heritage."[41]

Ten days later, however, Skewes requested that the Supreme Court give the South enough time to adjust to the new law and actually suggested that the region was willing to consider abiding by the mandate. "Most Southerners accept high court ruling with good grace based on provision [that] court offers time aplenty wherein to work out the situation," Skewes wrote. "Change-over may require decade or less, or even more." [42]

Toward the Mississippi River in McComb, where the Pike County population was 44 percent black,[43] editor Oliver Emmerich defended the traditional South but called for his community to remain calm in the face of *Brown*. Emmerich was an award-winning editorial writer who published and edited the McComb *Enterprise-Journal* from 1924 until his death in 1978. He was also a traditional states' rights Southerner who was often thought to hold the moderate ground on the racial issue,[44] but as a delegate to the 1948 Democratic national convention, he walked out with the other Mississippi Dixiecrats. Two decades later, Emmerich would claim that he had not joined the Dixiecrats because of the civil rights platform of Harry Truman, but because of the Democrats' apathy toward the national debt and the erosion of the individual rights of the states.[45] However, in a front page editorial following the convention, Emmerich wrote: "Many minority groups have taken over control of the Democratic Party. The Negroes of the East have far more influence in the Democratic Party than do all the white people in the South. Naturally, the Southerners are determined that this situation shall be corrected."[46]

Emmerich voiced support of a Mississippi law rushed into passage to counteract Brown that was more than half a century late in addressing the "separate but equal" demands of *Plessy* v. *Ferguson*. "The Negro leadership that is opposed to the separate but equal plans is doing its people a vast disservice," Emmerich wrote. "The Mississippi plan is a compromise which helps both races. It would be a serious mistake to plunge our two races together in our schools at this hour."[47]

The next day he announced in a front page editorial column, "Neither race wants an integrated school system in Mississippi."[48] Later in the month, Emmerich published his "5-Part Plan to Help Maintain Segregated Schools in Mississippi," which was reprinted in the Jackson *Clarion-Ledger*.[49] In what seemed a desperate last effort to maintain

segregation, Emmerich proposed that *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* be finally honored by "equalizing" the black and white schools. Once that was done, Emmerich reasoned, the Supreme Court would relax the demands of *Brown*.[50]

In searching for rationalization of his traditional Southern views, Emmerich, like most other editors of the Mississippi daily press, sought credible black allies. He found one in Davis Lee, the black publisher of the *Newark* (New Jersey) *Telegraph*, whose editorial on *Brown* was published on the front page of the McComb paper: "Southern Negroes may lose a lot more than they gain. This movement to integrate the schools of the South is loaded with more racial dynamite than appears on the surface and the Negro will be the one who is blown away."[51]

West of McComb on the Mississippi River, where the Adams County population was 49 percent black in 1954, there were two daily newspapers, and the *Natchez Democrat* published one of the few Mississippi editorials supporting the Supreme Court's decision. Editor Elliott Trimble, or an unnamed editorial writer, stepped beyond the usual traditional Southern views of the newspaper for one brief moment in May 1954:

> A very great many people have been convinced for generations that segregation was inherently wrong, law or no law, and a violation of national morals. But they haven't known what to do about it until now . . . .
> Certainly there can be pride that the Supreme Court has finally faced up to what has obviously been the law all the time. Administered with goodwill, it may prove an important step in clearing up the whole matter of segregation. Children growing up together can hardly maintain the deep suspicions which have so complicated this problem.[52]

Two days later, however, a different voice emerged. It seemed as if someone else had taken the editorial reins of the *Natchez Democrat*: "[*Brown*] is the inevitable fruit of the nation's gradual, but certain, shift away from the basic concepts of American Constitutional government. It is our considered opinion that we shall live to regret this Supreme Court decision—not necessarily because formal segregation has been abolished, but because the court acted without due regard to its position in the division of power among the three branches of government."[53]

Why the tone changed so drastically in the two editorials in the *Natchez Democrat* may never be known because Trimble died in 1997, shortly before being contacted by the author of this study for an inter-

view.[54] Perhaps advertisers pressured the newspaper, or threats of bodily harm were made, or white community outrage was overwhelming. Whatever the reason, the editorial pen at the *Natchez Democrat* was definitely refocused.

Defending States' Rights

Trimble continued his diatribe against government interference in the Southern way of life, "When the power of the government is used, or sought to be used, for the purpose of changing human nature, customs and mores, it has lost its American characteristics."[55] His concerns seemed to focus primarily on the states' rights issue. "Whatever the outcome of events following the anti-segregation decision, there is grounds for fear that the federal government is daily becoming more successful in its encroachment on the rights of states," Trimble wrote.[56]

Across town at the *Natchez Times*, newly founded in 1949, the early mood seemed supportive of *Brown*, as had been the case at the *Natchez Democrat*. Herman Moore, editor of the *Natchez Times*, was silent in May regarding the decision, but he published a guest editorial by Thomas Stokes from Washington, DC "It is surmised that most Southerners expected the kind of decision that was rendered which may help to explain the restrained reaction," Stokes wrote. "It's suggested that they foresaw it because deep in their hearts a great many of them feel it was the right decision."[57]

An anonymous letter to the editor of the *Christian Science Monitor* was published in the *Natchez Times* which supported Brown but warned that black children should not be made to suffer to boost the egos of black leaders. "I do not believe it just or right to pour millions of ignorant Negro children into our white schools in order that a handful of upperclass Negroes may be freed from a sense of inferiority," the anonymous writer said.[58] By August, however, Moore was suggesting that police power and redistricting be used to maintain racial segregation in the state's schools.[59]

Also in August 1954, the Mississippi Supreme Court upheld the decision of a lower court finding the *Natchez Times* guilty of libel and awarded Mary Dunigan, a white woman, $5,000 for having been referred to erroneously in the paper as a "Negro."[60] The case was the first of its kind in the state and the newspaper closed its doors a few years later.

North along the Mississippi River from Natchez in the southern region of the Mississippi Delta is Vicksburg, where the *Vicksburg Evening Post* has been owned by the Cashman family for five generations since 1883. The Warren County population was 50 percent black in 1954,[61]

and the *Vicksburg Evening Post* voiced support of traditional Southern segregation. "Basically, we disagree with the decision," editor L.P. Cashman, Sr., wrote. "We do not believe either colored or white Mississippians will ever be happy under a system of non-segregation. By their very natures, the races are apart."[62]

Into the northeast corner of the state is Tupelo, where the Lee County population was 27 percent black in 1954,[63] and editor George McLean of the Tupelo *Daily Journal* was a conservative Southerner who advocated a calm approach to societal tribulations. His immediate response to *Brown* was no different. "The South will no doubt respond with a gradual reaction to the Supreme Court ruling rather than changing its school system overnight," McLean wrote. "This is not a time for high emotion or thoughtless action." [64]

Similar to the other editors of the Mississippi daily press in 1954, McLean was eager to publish support for his stance on segregation by anyone from the black community. Like Emmerich in McComb, McLean published the letter from Davis Lee, the black publisher of the *Newark* (New Jersey) *Telegraph*, who wrote that desegregration could prove harmful to blacks.[65]

South of Tupelo in West Point, where the Clay County population was 56 percent black in 1954,[66] editor W.H. Harris of the *Times-Leader* was an outspoken segregationist. The day after the *Brown* decision was announced, he wrote: "None of us think for one minute that we are about to throw white schools open to Negro children now. Your writer firmly believes that he will some day see non-segregated schools in the South. But first, we must pass through a lengthy period of equalized school facilities which will lift the Negro onto a higher level—mentally, socially and morally." [67]

Harris was vehement in his denouncement of *Brown*. "We know for certain that Negro children are not going to be admitted to our white schools for a long, long time," he wrote.[68] Harris truly believed that whites were the superior race and that the NAACP was up to no good. "It's a pity that more of our intelligent Negro citizens cannot see the motive of the NAACP," Harris wrote. "Integration is eventually coming—even here in the deep South—but it will not come until the Negro race is lifted onto a higher plane." [69]

In 1954, Mississippi's capital city of Jackson had a population that was 44 percent black.[70] The city was also the home of the two most widely-circulated daily newspapers in the state, the conservative *Clarion-Ledger* and the equally conservative *Daily News*. The Hederman family owned and edited the *Clarion-Ledger*. They despised, and were despised in return, by Fred Sullens, the owner and editor of the *Daily News*. In

1954, when the *Brown* decision was handed down, however, Sullens' *Daily News* and the Hederman's *Clarion-Ledger* stood side by side in their support of the maintenance of a racially segregated Southern society and racially segregated schools.

The *Clarion-Ledger*, with the largest circulation in the state, was never hesitant to proclaim its traditional Southern convictions, and so it was not on the day after *Brown*: "[S]tunning as the decision is, it creates no immediate crisis. May 17, 1954, may be recorded by future historians as a black day of tragedy for the South, and for both races, but we can conduct ourselves in such a fashion as to cause historians to record that we faced that tragedy and crisis with wisdom, courage, faith and determination such as our fathers would have applauded."[71]

Attacking Sacred Traditions

Published letters to the editor of the *Clarion-Ledger* were where the actual drama was played out concerning *Brown* in 1954. Grover Hewell of Canton wrote, "The Supreme Court, in its deadly coil, is about to strike down our sacred traditions,"[72] and Blanche Gregory of Pickens agreed: "Under heaven let there be no brother and sister incestation between races. Sociology informs us that the white blood of the South, including that in the black belt, has a higher percentage of racial purity than that of any other section of the country."[73] Edwin White, a member of the Mississippi House of Representatives from Holmes County, concurred: "There is only one thing in the whole situation which the white man asks for and that is the privilege of his children, and his children's children, continuing to be white people. It's God's law."[74]

To its credit, the *Clarion-Ledger* also published several letters of support for the elimination of racial discrimination following *Brown*. Jack Garellick of Vicksburg wrote, "We are all God's children and he ignores the distinctions made by men; segregation was man-made."[75] Garellick was supported by L.G. Patterson of Jackson, "There are those of us who believe that the Negro will act and behave like a human being only when he is educated and treated like one."[76]

Evelyn Riley, a black woman from Itta Bena, was allowed to express her support of segregation: "We are proud of our race and do not want to go to school with your children if you do no want us there. Frankly, I feel the same about the whites as they feel about me."[77] In response, however, "A Concerned Taxpayer" responded: "If the whites had done more for us, she [Riley] says, we wouldn't have to go to the Supreme Court. Why doesn't the Negro do for himself? No, we the white people have helped, pampered, and cared for this race for so long they have become like a

youngster who has been given too much. Let the Negro build his own schools with his own taxes, let the white man build his with his."[78]

Across town, the *Daily News*, with the second largest circulation in the state,[79] made news itself in August 1954 after being purchased by the rival Hedermans of the *Clarion-Ledger*.[80] The Hedermans had begun secretly acquiring *Daily News* stock in an attempt to take control of the newspaper and when the plan was discovered by Sullens he took the Hedermans to court and won the case. But he also went broke because of accrued legal debts. In August 1954, an elderly and ailing Sullens finally sold the *Daily News* to the Hedermans and announced the decision to his flabbergasted staff by saying: "You may think I prostituted myself. If so, I'm the highest paid he-whore in Mississippi."[81]

The *Daily News* had acquired the vociferous editorial pen of Sullens in 1904, and for the next half century the *Daily News* was Sullens' mouthpiece. In his editorials and front page column, "The Lowdown on Higher-Ups," politicians and federal laws were often the object of his scorn. One local legend held that Sullens, not a writer to hide behind his words, confronted Mississippi Governor Paul B. Johnson, Sr. (1940-1943) in the lobby of a Jackson hotel and broke a walking cane across the governor's back.[82] Sullens' view of *Brown* was that desegregration would lead to "social equality in all its uglier forms."[83]

Sullens, who continued as editor after the Hederman acquisition, voiced his interpretation of *Brown* as the final insult from a Supreme Court that was, in his mind, determined to destroy the Southern way of life regardless of the confusion and carnage it left behind. In his page one editorial, "Low Down on Higher Ups," Sullens vented his wrath:

> [The decision was] the worst thing that has happened to the South since carpetbaggers and scalawags took charge. It is even worse. It means racial strife of the bitterest sort. Mississippi will never consent to placing white and Negro children in the same public schools. The white people and the thinking Negro people do not want that to happen. Both look on the decision as a calamity. White and Negro children in the same schools will lead to...the mongrelization of the human race.[84]

Sullens did not address the "mongrelization" that had already occurred during the generations in Mississippi when white masters had fathered children by their black slaves.

Similar to Harmon in Hattiesburg, Sullens had suddenly become an insider on what blacks wanted for themselves and their children and according to him: "An overwhelming majority of the Negro parents in

Mississippi do not want their children to attend white schools; they prefer to have their children taught by teachers of their own race. They are not seeking any form of social equality."[85]

Throughout May 1954, Sullens continued to blast the Supreme Court and to declare that *Brown* would be ignored in Mississippi, "There may be many doubts as to what other states intend to do, but the people of Mississippi have always had the intelligence and courage sufficient to manage their own destiny."[86] He found great solace in the fact that, "For the 58 years the mandate of the Supreme Court was on the books declaring that separate school facilities must be equal, this was never enforced; how much harder will it be if they try to enforce this most recent version?" [87] Sullens also published numerous statements that are partially responsible for the negative stereotype of the Mississippi press during this time period, particularly because the *Daily News* was one of the two most widely-circulated newspapers in the state, "The vast majority of Negroes in our state are timid or inarticulate."[88] Statements such as this, though often flaunted as an overview of the Southern press, were few and far between in the issues of the Mississippi daily newspapers examined for this study. The Mississippi editors in 1954 may have agreed that blacks were not equal as a race of people, but they seldom voiced such derogatory generalizations in their newspapers.

Later in the summer, as the beginning of the 1954-55 school year approached, Sullens was back with his virulent pen: "As the thinking people of Mississippi see it, the Supreme Court decision is in itself illegal. It is a flagrant defiance of an essential and firmly established social order."[89] Also in August, Sullens attacked the NAACP for "misrepresenting" the black community, and he praised the "thinking" blacks who supported segregation: "Thoughtful, hardworking peace-loving Negroes prefer their own schools, churches and places of entertainment. The thinking colored people of Mississippi should listen to the sensible and conservative leaders of their race and turn deaf ears to the radicals and strife-breeders. The insolent and impractical demands of the NAACP will not be granted."[90]

Letters to the editor of the *Daily News* in May and August 1954 were of an intriguing and varied assortment pertaining to *Brown*. Interestingly, Sullens responded to his own threatening approach to the NAACP with an appeal to letter writers not to use the same tactics. In late May, he had published a front page warning to the organization: "[NAACP officials] will risk trouble rather than wait for the Supreme Court to find out how it is going to enforce its foolish decision. So be it. Trouble is never hard to find."[91] A few weeks later, Sullens admonished letter writers to calm their rhetoric, "No matter whether written by white persons or

Negro, the *Daily News* will not print communications on the subject of segregation that contain violent, abusive or intemperate language."[92]

The *Daily News* published many letters regarding *Brown*, primarily those in support of segregation. Since black support of racial segregation was heralded in the white-owned Mississippi daily press in 1954, one letter from C.W. Falconer, a "Negro teacher," was published on the front page: "I truthfully believe my race should not advocate mixing of schools at this time because it would have a tendency to bring disunity between the races, a thing which the Communist Party desires. We must not cut our own throats on this issue."[93] Another black, Viola Prine, wrote: "We know that they [white people] have taught their children that they are superior to Negroes. Why put our black children through this?"[94]

Hodding Carter, Jr., Champion of Justice

The only Mississippi daily press editor in 1954 who took a consistently supportive approach to civil rights issues in general was Hodding Carter, Jr., of the *Delta Democrat-Times*. Located on the Mississippi River in Greenville, where the Washington County population was 67 percent black in 1954,[95] Carter advocated the racial desegregation of the school system—but only on the college level[96]—and displayed a global consciousness unusual for the times. Carter gained a reputation for being "sensible and moderate" on the issue of race relations,[97] and made a name for himself as a champion of justice for all people. In doing so, he attracted the wrath of a wide range of traditional Mississippians, from political icon Theodore Bilbo to the state legislature, who actually voted him "a liar by legislation."[98] In 1946, Carter was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for editorial writing and his glory was dampened by political sour grapes. He wrote: "Theodore Bilbo, then running for re-election to the United States Senate, told a group of listeners that 'no self-respecting Southern white man would accept a prize given by a bunch of nigger-loving, Yankeefied Communists for editorials advocating the mongrelization of the race.'"[99]

In 1954, Carter urged his readers to think positively about *Brown*: "Whatever the South thinks of [the decision], there is no doubt that it will raise America's prestige in the world, and especially in the world of brown and yellow and black people. And to us in the South, it gives a challenge to replace trickery and subterfuge in our educational structure with an honest realization that every American child has the right to an equal education."[100] Carter also praised his community for their "calm compliance coupled with determination to work things out."[101]

In late August, as the public schools were enrolling students, the *Delta Democrat-Times* published Carter's front page editorial, which clearly stated his views regarding public school desegregation: "It would be tragic if in the deep South any widespread or concentrated effort is made this fall or in the immediate future to enroll Negro children in hitherto all-white schools. This is not said as a threat or warning, but as a basic fact. A majority of Southerners are not ready for the reality of integration."[102]

Mississippi's politicians had a field day with *Brown*, using the mandate to illustrate the horrors of federal encroachment, but most editors of the Mississippi daily press had nothing to say in response to their elected officials, other than giving their wire service stories front page placement. US Senator James Eastland said, "The South will not abide by, nor obey, this legislative decision by a political court."[103] Paul B. Johnson, Jr., a future governor of Mississippi (1964-1968), who would be serving in office when the state's schools began to desegregate, said: "The white people in Mississippi are not in any mood to accept Negroes in our schools. I, for one, will fight against that to my dying day. The whites of this state want no colored in-laws."[104] Fielding Wright, a former governor of Mississippi and the failed vice presidential candidate of the States' Rights "Dixiecrat" Party in 1948, came forward with a plan to use police force to maintain segregation in the state's public schools.[105]

Unlike the other editors of the Mississippi daily press in 1954, Carter in Greenville could not resist the opportunity to take a crack at the state's leaders, with whom he often had complaints. "Every responsible individual with whom we have talked about the matter is using his good sense and refuses to be stampeded into making damn fool remarks," Carter wrote. "This isn't so of our politicians and state observers."[106]

McLean in Tupelo went even further. Though he did not support the racial desegregation of the state's school system, McLean disapproved of politicians using the issue for personal gain: "Southern politicians are occupied full time nowadays denouncing the Supreme Court. But when the novelty has worn off this sport, they will seek something more spectacular to keep their names before the public as guardians of Dixie education."[107]

Another political ploy had raised the hackles of Carter a few days after the *Brown* decision was announced. Mississippi Governor White attempted to convince black leaders that the state's schools for blacks would be upgraded, or "equalized,"[108] as had been mandated by *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* in 1896 but never enforced in the state, and that it would be in the "best interest" of the black community to support this "voluntary" segregation.[109] The proposal, although widely supported by the Missis-

sippi daily press, did not receive much support from leaders of the Mississippi or national NAACP,[110] whose ideas and meeting places were suddenly front page news. Carter found the governor completely out of touch with the black community to even suggest that they accept voluntary segregation. "Governor Hugh White said he was stunned the other day when he learned that the state's Negroes did not, in fact, plan to go along with his plan for 'voluntary segregation' in the public schools," Carter wrote. "Granting the news was unpleasant at best, for the governor to be 'stunned' indicates that he hasn't had his ear to the ground."[111]

Should Public Schools Be Abolished?

Within a week of the *Brown* decision, Governor White began committee appointments for a newly created 25-member Mississippi Legal Education Advisory Committee (LEAC) to investigate ways to maintain segregation in the state's public schools, an action widely reported in the Mississippi daily press.[112] LEAC appointee Thomas Tubb of West Point supported a traditional Southern argument: "Gradual integration of the races would ultimately lead to the destruction of the white race."[113] Not all members of the LEAC shared Tubb's view, however, and the committee was described as "wildly split on school issues."[114]

One consideration before the LEAC was a recommendation to abolish the public school system and organize a private system supported by tax dollars through an amendment to the state constitution. This was an amendment worth considering, according to several editors of the Mississippi daily press, and a notion akin to total insanity, according to most others. Waldon in Corinth was particularly vehement in his denouncement of the idea: "The proposal to wipe-out a hundred years of educational progress in this state would set us back to pioneer days if we allowed it. We do not believe that the proposal to abolish public education is a good, well thought-out answer to the problem of segregation in the schools."[115]

Carter in Greenville agreed with Waldon that the public school system should not be abolished, and based his decision on regional reaction, "The fact that none of the other Southern states is now considering abolition of the public schools would certainly indicate to us that the system isn't calculated to be the best one."[116] Emmerich in McComb, who had drafted his own plan for maintaining segregated schools, also thought abolition of the public schools was ludicrous,[117] and Moore at the *Natchez Times* agreed, "A move at this time to prepare for wrecking the public school system certainly seems ill-advised."[118]

In support of the abolition of the state's public school system to maintain racial segregation was editorial columnist Charles M. Hills of the *Clarion-Ledger* and Harris of the West Point *Times-Leader.* "The people of Mississippi are prepared to go to any end to keep the Negro out of white schools," Hills wrote.[119] Harris concurred, "[M]ost of us would quickly and willingly approve the abolition of our public schools before we would permit our children to become involved in any bloody integration system."[120]

As the Mississippi school year began in late August 1954, none of the Mississippi public schools was racially integrated as ordered by *Brown* v. *Board of Education.* Nor was the Mississippi public school system abolished or a private school plan amended to the state constitution. Toward the end of the summer, Governor White began a campaign in the Mississippi legislature to pass a bill "forbidding anyone from stirring up race trouble by filing lawsuits against schools, except for relatives of children in that school."[121]

The manner in which the Southern press in general, and the Mississippi press in particular, dealt with *Brown* v. *Board of Education* and other society-altering civil rights issues has been a subject of extended controversy. Some media analysts have condemned Southern newspapers for their erratic reporting and inflammatory interpretation,[122] but others have determined that the Southern press "did an adequate job."[123] One observer noted that civil rights coverage did not differ substantially between Southern and Northern newspapers.[124]

In 1954, the major issues of concern raised by editors of the Mississippi daily press following *Brown* v. *Board of Education* were (1) that black and white children should not be schooled in the same facilities as this could lead to integrated socializing which would be unacceptable by traditional Southern standards, (2) that black and white children should not be schooled together because black children would not be able to compete academically with the white children, and (3) that the public schools in the state should not be abolished to prevent this. According to their socially conservative editorials during May and August 1954, the notion that blacks and whites should be educated together based on the equality of the two races was a concept that remained unacceptable and inconceivable.

Did Not Advocate Violence

It is interesting to note that contrary to what media critics have observed about the promotion of violent suppression of civil rights activity in a small sampling of Southern newspapers,[125] the Mississippi

daily press in 1954 did not advocate violence to maintain segregation following *Brown*. Not once was this found in any of the 20 newspapers.

Most of the editors did, however, support other means to undermine the desegregation of the public schools in the state, such as recommending that their communities simply refuse to comply with the mandate.

In their news coverage of the civil rights issues pertaining to *Brown* v. *Board of Education*, the two most widely-circulated Mississippi daily newspapers, the Jackson *Clarion-Ledger* and the Jackson *Daily News*, were not representative of the Mississippi daily press. Although all the daily newspapers subscribed to at least one of the three major wire services available at the time, AP, UP or INS, and they ran the copy relatively unrevised, staff-written stories by the *Clarion-Ledger* and the *Daily News* were much more virulent, for the most part, than those of the other newspapers. The editorials of Sullens at the *Daily News* and Hills at the *Clarion-Ledger* certainly earned their reputation for propagating racial polarization and intensifying the opposition of Mississippi whites to racial desegregation.[126] Except for Harris of the West Point *Times-Leader* and Skewes at the *Meridian Star*, this blatant "fire breathing" racism was not generally true of the other editors of the Mississippi daily press in 1954.

Whether the editorial stance of Mississippi's daily press was representative of its readers in 1954 is not known. The fact that it took nearly two decades for the majority of the state's school systems to comply with the *Brown* order would indicate that many of the readers—at least the white readers who controlled local school boards—did not agree that a system of racial desegregation was the preferred educational arrangement. It is also important to note that in many Mississippi communities, the establishment of private academies for white students corresponded with local compliance to Brown, another indication that many of the white readers preferred a racially segregated educational system.

A letter to the editor of the Jackson *Daily News* in August 1954, however, could have been speaking for many more white Mississippians than is generally thought. "I hate to think of the contempt the rest of the nation must have for the South if they have read the front pages of the Mississippi newspapers," wrote Mary Taylor of Jackson.[127]

Socially responsible editorship of the Mississippi daily press following the 1954 *Brown* v. *Board of Education* decision might have seemed, to advocates of equal rights, an editorship that would have endorsed quality education for all people. But to most of the white editors and reporters of the Mississippi daily press in 1954, and to most white Mississippians, socially responsible editorship during that time meant the endorsement and protection of Mississippi society as they had always understood and defended it—racially segregated with blacks in subservient roles as second-class citizens.

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Book Reviews

If there is any consistency to this issue's offering of book reviews, it is the fact that all deal with some form of controversy. Jon Bekken's review addresses some of the major concerns over the move to what some call "public journalism" and others, referring to same thing, call "civic journalism." Louise Benjamin's review takes a look at some of the current issues in the global combination of television news and satellite transmissions. Her work makes the point that it is far more difficult covering the world in 20 seconds or less than it is to cover one's backyard.

Elizabeth Burt offers a review of a collection of quite good essays dealing with the sensitive topic of how the news is treating minorities. The issue has been around since before the D.W. Griffith production of "Birth of a Nation" and currently it appears that the issue will not escape us soon. Doug Birkhead's review summarizes some of the issues that are being debated regarding the quality of television news and what we can do about it. To give a historical backdrop to the debate, Stephen Phipps reviews the memoirs of Richard Salant, one of the major players in the development of television news at CBS in New York.

Carolyn Kitch reviews a book that explores problems arising from developing societies' struggle with the age-old question of press freedom. And this collection of reviews concludes with Andrew Osler's review of an in-depth look at Jean Paul Sartre as a media person. And I should note that the editor's choice this time around is a new collection of the early journalistic writings of Walt Whitman.

>David R. Spencer, Book Review Editor

✓Editor's Choice

The Collected Writings of Walt Whitman: The Journalism, Volume 1: 1834-1846

By Herbert Bergman, (ed.), New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 1998, 590pp.

Too often, surrounded by some of the mediocrity that passes for journalism today, we forget that several famous literary figures in the English language worked as journalists. Immediately the names of Charles Dickens, Mary Ann Shadd Cary, William L. Shirer, Ernest Hemingway

and William Morris come to mind. The list is by no means exhaustive. But any list that claims to be complete must include the name of Walt Whitman whom most of us remember as America's leading poet of the 19th century, if not the symbol of America itself. Whitman's life, as complicated and secretive as it was, was the life of a writer, one which began in earnest in 1834 and only ended with his death in 1892.

Having worked for years in newspaper files contained on bleary microfilm or in rotting originals, I can appreciate the difficulty of the task that faced the editors of this massive volume. If little else, Whitman was a prolific writer. The contents of this book are spread over 590 pages, covering only the period between 1834 and 1846. The researchers covered no less than 14 newspapers, some continuations of others, containing writings by Whitman. Some are as short as two sentences, others exceed two pages. The Appendix contains a complete list of source locations of items in the book as well as a list of missing issues that probably contained more of Whitman's work.

The notation begins in small print on page 487 and continues until page 564. I bring this to your attention to give you a detailed example of the care that has been exercised in compiling this volume. The text pages are marked every five lines and the notation system records any anomalies in the text by reference to these numbers. The notes make reference to interpretations of Whitman's work, provide historical details not contained in the text and explain factors such as grammatical and spelling mistakes. The book is clearly designed for researchers and, in a compliment to the editors, they make it easy to use. Having struggled with newspapers in the 19th century that were not indexed, I can appreciate how much effort it has taken to make this work effective.

Is this just a chronological collection of Whitman's musings or can we learn something of the author and his times from these writings? The book provides the reader with insight into a complex and creative writer. It is not surprising that Whitman takes great pains not to reveal his sexual preferences in any of the works. It is almost painful in this day and age to read of his views of the sexuality of young New York women and how he pined after them, at least in print. However, to his credit Whitman never explained his lack of a wife in these volumes and, of course, it is too early to see his reaction to the love letters of Mrs. Anne Gilchrist.

The literary power that emerges in much of the work contained in these volumes is that of the descriptive narrative. At this, Whitman was a master even early in his life. Whitman's journalism was not the journalism of the reporter, but of the observer of life, of the columnist and of the

reviewer. A classic example of early Whitman is contained in this piece published in the *New York Aurora* on April 23, 1842.

Dreams, to the pure of heart, are always messengers of love and beauty; be he the son of wealth or of poverty, they are to him a gilding which serves to adorn and beautify the roughest deformities of life. There are the dreams of the day and dreams of the night, but around all fancy twines a magic wreath.

Of course, one must keep in mind that the newspapers of this period of Whitman's early life in New York was quite unlike the journals that published in the year of his death. In this respect, Whitman resembles many of his colleagues in the first half of the 19th century who brought a strong and very visible personal touch to the press. What is difficult to find in the Whitman prose is a sense of his political stance. There are frequent outbursts of indignation as various Boards of Education in the area will attest to, but no consistent, well-argued set of ideological perspectives. In reading these works, always keep in mind that the oldest piece in the book was written when Whitman was only 25 years old. Nonetheless, what we do get is an interesting, and well-crafted insight into life in New York, Brooklyn and Long Island in the years before the Civil War. And, if one were to accept Whitman's analysis, it was a much simpler life than we lead today, but one filled with far more dangers of early death from a variety of diseases that have long since been eliminated.

Is this a book for bedtime reading, the dedicated journalism scholar or just the graduate student colony looking for a good research topic? In many ways, it is all three. I have always had an affection for Whitman's writings since he lived in my community during 1880 as a guest of a local physician, Richard Maurice Bucke, who gets a couple of notes in this book. However, as valuable as this is for research purposes, as a general reading book it needs to be taken in small doses. Yet anyone who appreciates the skill with which Whitman wrote will say a thankful prayer to the people who compiled this work. It is a tool which will literally save days for Whitman scholars. Peter Lang Publishers has already listed Volume Two, although it has yet to appear. Hopefully, it will have the strength and imagination so prevalent in Volume 1.

>David Spencer, University of Western Ontario

Live, Direct and Biased? Making Television News in the Satellite Age

By Brent MacGregor, London: St. Martin's Press, 1997, 234 pp.

Brent MacGregor's analysis of television news and its intersection with technology is an enterprising and thoughtful account of how technological developments have changed broadcast reporting over the last decades of the 20th century and gives insight into how current changes may alter the face of news coverage in the 21st. To this examination, MacGregor brings a background as both an academic and a broadcast news producer, which makes him uniquely qualified to bridge the gap between practitioners and scholars studying electronic news formation.

The book's focus, as MacGregor notes in his introduction, "is a study of the changing face of television news, examining both the transmitted screen product and the news gathering and reporting process which lies behind the broadcast bulletins viewers see every day." In addition, MacGregor briefly traces the history of electronic news gathering in the US and Great Britain from the telegraph to the satellite. He then relates how the information map has changed radically in the late 20th century with the introduction of dedicated, 24-hour news services such as CNN, Sky News, Euronews, CBC Newsworld, and BBC World.

In his analysis of these technological developments, MacGregor uses several case studies with necessary background chapters to appraise news technology and report work practices which have led to significant changes in news rules, composition, and "grammar." One chapter summarizes theories of news production, and MacGregor notes his analysis builds on Michael Schudson's approach as it "examines news product as text in several detailed case studies, paying particular attention to technology."

Another chapter briefly reviews news coverage of 1990s events such as the 1991 Moscow coup attempt, U.N. intervention in both Somalia and Bosnia, the Oklahoma City bombing, the Rabin assassination, and the O.J. Simpson "white Bronco" chase and subsequent trial. Two other chapters compare, in detail, US and British coverage of the 1991 IRA bombing of Whitehall in the heart of London and international coverage of the Gulf War and the bombing of Baghdad. In these chapters MacGregor takes a comparative approach by analyzing the same news story as presented by news organizations in different countries and makes astute references to each nation's news gathering practices and the resulting news product, whether news story or program.

In the final chapters of the book, MacGregor raises the question "Is news better reported, with more understanding, as a result of the new

technologies and the working practices they bring with them?" His answer revolves around decisions made that affect news practices; it is not a clear cut "yes" or "no" but rather a consideration of technological and economic change and their effect on the ultimate news product.

While this book is not a textbook *per se*, it will be exceedingly useful in classes in media history, broadcast news, media and society, and critical analysis of media. Its insights and perspective will challenge students to review what they accept as objective news reportage. This work also will challenge scholars to continue investigations of how news gathering and production continue to change in the 21st century with evolving economic and technological concerns. I recommend *Live, Direct and Biased?* highly to all individuals interested in the formation of news.

>Louise Benjamin, University of Georgia

Press Freedom and Development, Bibliography.
By Clement E. Asante, Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997, 216 pp.

Here is a bibliographic guide that offers something more: the suggestion that scholars who study the relationships between governments and their countries' news media should also consider the role those media play in national development, particularly in Third World countries. In making this argument, Clement Asante, whose background is in nonprofit agency work devoted to improving communication as well as living conditions in developing nations, contends that Western models for categorizing press systems are no longer necessarily sufficient in understanding how mass media affect the political, social, and cultural conditions of their constituencies.

The guide is neatly divided into two parts, the first surveying the literature on freedom-of-the-press issues, and the second surveying work on development communication. Each listing of resources is preceded by a bibliographic essay that identifies major writings and considers the evolution of each body of scholarship. In the latter section, the author also comments on institutional and technological changes in media that have transformed the possibilities for the role of journalism in shaping a nation's growth. His brief but thoughtful discussion of the impact of new media further explores how "the press" is now, and will be, defined.

This book should be a valuable resource for scholars in either of these fields, and the press freedom essay will serve as a useful and succinct summary of theory for students just beginning work in that area. Perhaps more interesting than the territory the author does cover, however, are the unexplored implications of his combination of these two concepts, press "freedom" versus media as support-building tools for emerging govern-

ments and their populations. As Asante notes, these seemingly opposition roles of the press are in fact fluid. It would have been even more helpful had he provided a third essay exploring the gray areas between these roles, and the ways in which his interesting comparison may shed light on current re-evaluations of what journalism is and whom it should serve. On the 50th anniversary of the Hutchins Commission report, a consideration of the intersection of freedom and development issues seems the perfect opportunity to discuss larger questions about press responsibility, particularly in an increasingly global media system.

Also fascinating is what is suggested, but remains unsaid, in Asante's explanation of the emergence of "alternative" models for development communications, those that privilege cultural traditions and rely on grassroots involvement in media. Earlier, top-down models for mass communication in developing nations, he notes, were ineffective because they "failed to take into consideration the goals and aspirations of the people engaged in such programs. In short, the intended beneficiaries of a development program should have a voice in designing and implementing the program itself; it should not be imposed on them by the authorities or the powers that be." Such an assessment echoes the language of current debates about public dissatisfaction with Western journalism, and the alternative development-media models Asante approvingly describes are curiously similar to Western proposals for public journalism, a new model of professional practice that calls for a reconsideration of objectivity (the central concept on which "press freedom" traditionally has been based).

Indeed, this similarity suggests that issues of both freedom and development might be studied not just in terms of a press' relationship with its government, but also in terms of its relationship with its audience. Another theme that begs discussion is the impact of the conglomeration of mass media, within countries and globally. Asante devotes only two pages to ownership issues and considers them as merely one aspect (along with, for example, sourcing practices) of the balance of power between government and the press. In fact, the economic dimension of mass media may be transforming the definitions of both "the press" and "government" (particularly in developing countries). While this is a bibliographic guide, it is, as its title indicates, selective, and more attention to political economy scholarship might have added another interpretive level to the survey.

Even if he does not fully discuss these various questions, Clement Asante certainly raises them by combining two previously separate areas of media scholarship. That innovative pairing, and the more than 500 sources it lists, is a service to journalism scholars.

>Carolyn Kitch, Temple University

Public Journalism and Public Life: Why Telling The News Is Not Enough (2nd Ed.)

By Davis "Buzz" Merritt, Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1998, 151pp.

Public life is generally acknowledged to be in crisis in the United States, with people increasingly disengaged not only from the political process but from the broader arena of civic life.

At the same time journalism has lost much of its credibility as a public actor. "Buzz" Merritt argues that these two phenomena are interrelated, and traces their origins to the Progressive era of the 1920s. The Progressives' reliance on experts—in government as in journalism—encouraged a disconnect between governing elites and citizens, transforming citizens from active participants in the shaping of their society into spectators. Journalism has followed a similar trajectory, with journalists locked into a reluctant symbiosis with the political elites whose activities have increasingly come to dominate our sense of news.

Journalists have developed a set of conventions and working practices that reinforce that divide and render journalism increasingly irrelevant to readers' lives. Episodic coverage, coupled with relentless deadlines, presents civic life as a series of disconnected events and problems. Journalists' emphasis on conflict leads to polarized coverage focusing on extremes while neglecting the middle ground where most people are and where solutions can be worked through.

In Watergate's aftermath, Merritt suggests, "killer journalism" feeds public cynicism while journalists look for new figures to bring down rather than seek solutions to public problems. Aggravating the problem, corporate ownership has transformed journalists into careerist transients with little stake in the communities their news outlets fail to adequately serve.

The details of this analysis are certainly open to challenge. While Merritt claims that journalism focuses on extremes, much recent scholarship suggests that reporters narrowly concentrate on centrist sources and perspectives, often rejecting as too extreme to merit attention perspectives that actually enjoy substantial public support. Similarly, journalistic gypsies have long been with us, as Merritt acknowledges. What has changed, I suspect, is that top editors and publishers have joined their ranks.

Merritt draws on 40 years of journalistic experience, most spent within the Knight-Ridder chain. He is a practitioner, not a historian, and it shows in his lack of footnotes and skimpy bibliography. Since 1975, Merritt has served as editor (and since 1997 senior editor) of the Wichita

Eagle. This has given him the opportunity to try out some of his ideas, and Merritt briefly discusses his efforts at public joumalism

His paper has demanded that candidates address "the issues," and he believes that had something to do with increased voter turn-out (even though the more wishy-washy candidate won). In North Carolina several media outlets joined forces to demand that candidates speak to a range of issues chosen through polling. That project was particularly controversial, though Merritt's brief discussion strikes me as unsatisfying, especially in the way it accepts issues as frozen in time and leaves little room for candidates and the public to enter into a dialogue in which new issues might come forward.

This is far from a how-to book. Merritt explicitly refuses to offer prescriptions for how to undertake public journalism, and offers only brief descriptions of some emblematic projects and stories. Rather, this book is a call to journalists to reconsider what journalism is about, how their stories ought to be framed, and what responsibility they might share for the civic health of their communities. He urges journalists to explicitly articulate the policy implications raised by their articles and point to possible solutions to problems they identify. Journalism, he concludes, should be an active participant in a long-term project of civic engagement, telling the news in ways that enable and encourage citizenship.

To hear Merritt tell the tale, journalists have been invigorated by this approach, and readers say they feel better informed. However, readership has remained stagnant (despite studies which show that civic involvement and newspaper readership go hand in hand) in Wichita as elsewhere, and there is little evidence here of real public engagement in civic and political life.

Nor is it clear that the basic approach employed in most public journalism projects in any way addresses the fundamental issues. More promising to my mind is Merritt's brief discussion of increased coverage of community associations and what he calls "tough joumalism"—that is, journalism that asks tough questions—using Barlea and Steele's series (and later book) on the destruction of middle income jobs in the 1980s seems to me much more on target.

For Merritt this is all of one piece. The main point of this slender volume is that journalists need to abandon their claimed status as outsiders, and commit to a joumalism that addresses fundamental issues, that looks for ways to engage readers in finding solutions to public problems, that is actively engaged in the work of rebuilding a democratic culture. While I remain skeptical of much of the work done under the rubric of public journalism, the crises in journalism and public life it seeks to address are very real.

And while this is far from his intent, journalism historians might find that Merritt's argument offers a useful prism through which to re-examine the emergence and implications of objectivity and professionalization.

>Jon Bekken, Suffolk University

Salant, CBS, and the Battle for the Soul of Broadcast Journalism: The Memoirs of Richard S. Salant

By Susan and Bill Buzenberg, (eds.), Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1999, 326 pp.

Shortly after his retirement in 1984, Richard Salant, former president of CBS News, began writing his memoirs. Although he persisted with the project until 1990, he died before converting his manuscript into a coherent, well-organized form. As he expressed it, "Somewhere buried deep in there is a publishable book." It remained for Susan and Bill Buzenberg to extract that publishable book.

For those unfamiliar with the career of Richard Salant, he was responsible for the first move in network television from 15-minute newscasts to a half-hour program. Salant replaced Douglas Edwards with Walter Cronkite as the network's nightly news anchor. He hired Mike Wallace and Dan Rather. He initiated creation of what was to become perhaps the most controversial documentary ever aired on network television, "The Selling of the Pentagon." Salant also gave the go-ahead (eventually) for creation of "60 Minutes," the innovative program that demonstrated network news actually could turn a profit.

The career of Salant could be summed up in one word: integrity. In spite of the book's seemingly trite and contrived title, his memoirs really do, at times, reveal a literal "battle for the soul of broadcast journalism." Salant was responsible for a number of innovations at CBS, not the least of which was to create the first policy manual to be compiled and enforced by a television network. In his dealings with his staff and his work with controversial news topics, Salant was clearly a person who lived by his principles, and it was largely those principles that enabled CBS News to become the country's most respected network television news operation.

The book does contain its fair share of the obligatory items we would expect in any published memoirs from a professional career: an introduction by a distinguished associate (in this case, Mike Wallace), praising the author's character, numerous accounts of what "teally" happened in various legendary social and professional exchanges with

other notables, and photographs of the author in the presence of other well-known faces.

Salant's memoirs do, however, succeed where other such published accounts have failed, in that much of the material is genuinely fascinating. His personal involvement in coverage of some of the most noteworthy news events of the past several decades gave him a unique, first-hand perspective on such issues as Nixon's attacks on the media, the Watergate affair and the subsequent resignation of the president, the social unrest of the late 1960s, and the furor in Congress over the airing of CBS's legendary documentary, "The Selling of the Pentagon."

The book's weakest point, unfortunately, may be that such issues are the primary focus of only a few chapters. Interest level, for the average reader, may wane considerably after proceeding from a frank and detailed discussion of heavy and heated controversies to tamer chapters with such titles as "What is Bias?" or "What is News?" Even within these latter chapters, however, Salant supports his conclusions with ample personal experiences from his involvement in some of the most challenging controversies of his day.

Perhaps the book's strongest point is the author's unique degree of honesty. This is not simply a resume of his accomplishments, but an honest account of his failings and shortcomings as well. The extremely candid nature of his recollections enhances the interest level and educational value of the book in a manner found lacking in other memoirs. Throughout the volume, Salant raises questions that seem to demand answers, questions regarding the nature of news and its relationship to entertainment. The reader gains the impression, unfortunately, that with the passing of Salant something has been permanently lost to network television news.

>Steven Phipps, University of Missouri at St. Louis

Sartre and the Media

By Michael Scriven, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993, 194pp.

Jean-Paul Sartre made prolific use of the mass media over very many years, but there was a missing dimension. Except on a few tangential occasions he rarely used them as vehicles to treat before mass audiences the concepts in philosophy which were not only the core, but the entire substance of his intellectual life. Sartre's existentialism led him naturally (some have suggested with mystical intensity) not only to engage passionately in the issues of his time, but usually as well to order that engagement with a fine and existential journalistic detachment. Yet somehow, he

always kept his scholarship at arm's length from his public journalism, held it separately for those few minds that might be trusted to appreciate and understand.

Unfortunately, Michael Scriven does not deal in any significant way with this divide between Sartre's journalism and his scholarly writing (with which one includes his plays and novels). This constitutes the only important frailty in what is otherwise a unique and welcome accounting of Sartre's journalism. It's not that Scriven fails to recognize a relationship between the scholar and the journalist in Sartre. He notes, as others have done (including Sartre himself) that Sartre enjoyed a certain "transitional status" in French intellectual life and Western letters generally.

The best understanding of this concept, and of the inferred elitist undercurrent, derives from Sartre's own observations, his shifting perception of media technology as it evolved across the long decades of his productive life. Before WW II, for Sartre the book was everything. It was only later as he engaged first with newspaper journalism, and still later, and always much more tenuously, with radio and television, that he explained:

> Naturally, we must silence our qualms of conscience: the book is of course the most noble and oldest of forms; we will always have to return to it, but there is literary art to radio broadcasting, to film making and to news reporting . . . we need to learn to speak in images, to transpose the ideas contained in our books into these new languages.

He adds with transparent arrogance that it is not proper in the use of the mass media to "lower our standards" as scholars, "but on the contrary, we should reveal to the public its own requirements, and gradually raise its sights until it needs (sic) to read."

There is a further transparency which reveals the underlying and ironic necessity which Sartre recognized in his engagement with the public media. In Scriven's words:

> The post-War period undoubtedly witnessed a struggle between intellectuals and media magnates for the hearts and minds of the French people. Progressively the influence of the intellectuals declined, and that of the media increased. The story of Sartre's encounter with numerous press publications . . . is in effect the story of this progressive decline in the stature and influence of intellectuals such as Sartre, and the growing importance of the media.

With few exceptions (the Cuban series of 1960 for example) Sartre's journalism always was at its most engaged and passionate (and usually at its best as well) when he wrote in France about French issues. Arguably, his finest journalistic work was also his first, seven articles in *Combat* between August 22 and September 4, 1944, Sartre's witness to the liberation of Paris. Here was straightforward reporting at its finest: detailed, economical in its use of language, and with that personalizing degree of comment and analysis which the existentialist frame of mind enables so well, and which European journalism generally permits more readily than does the North American tradition.

Here is journalism that is fair, accurate, precise, rich in balanced comment and, most importantly, not chained to any canon of mechanical objectivity. *Un Promeneur dans Paris Insurged* was the series title which Sartre gave to these articles; in them (strolling through Paris in revolt) he stood as detached witness to the liberation, writing not only about the German retreat and the last violent acts of that enemy, but also the soul-destroying fury of Parisians released from five years of captivity; of the entrapping and slaughter of occasional pockets of remaining Germans. Scriven appropriately quotes Sartre's finest line from this remarkable series, written on a September Saturday during the last moments of the liberation:

> A few more gunshots and its finished . . . finished the week of glory. The next day will be a very bleak and deserted Sunday, a real day after the festival. And on Monday the shops will reopen. Paris will go back to work.

Here is the existential journalistic stance, the sort of thing John C. Merrill took as an ideal ethical basis for the craft. Merrill might well have had Sartre's articles on the liberation of Paris in mind when he wrote, moving away from the false canon of mechanical objectivity, that "the kind of existential journalism that is realistic and meaningful is a modified subjective journalism."

Striven does not make much of any of this, but chooses in the main to present Sartrean journalism as a chronology, beginning with *Combat* and the liberation; ending (in any important sense) with stillborn plans for a radical television series in 1975 by which time Sartre could no longer see to write.

In November of 1944, just months after the *Combat* series, the US Office of War Information, brought Sartre to the United States, where he generated some 30 articles in two months for both *Combat* and *Le Figaro*. He wrote unremarkably, for the most part. Scriven chronicles it all, and is

charitable. There's the lament for Hollywood, which Sartre seems rather to have sentimentalized, and which he saw about to lose its vigor in the postwar world; a rote set of labor pieces including less than informed speculation on a possible post-War return to depression-era labor conditions; bits on such mundane matters as summer heat in the urban American apartment. Scriven also allows the record to make it entirely clear that Sartre's journalistic visit to the Soviet Union in 1954 was even more lackluster. In fairness, there was the 1939 agony of the Soviet accord with the Nazis which left Sartre with something less than unbridled enthusiasm for the Soviet experiment, but that was now 15 years earlier, and the invasion of Hungary in 1956 (when Sartre finally broke his always tenuous relationship with the Partie Communiste Franqais) was still two years away. At home in France, Sartre was actively and creatively, in journalism and other genres, devoting much energy to social causes, yet Scriven rightly speaks of the 1954 journalistic product from the USSR (published in Libdration, and mostly transcriptions of interviews) as a "rather glib eulogizing of the Soviet state" and without "genuine personal insight into Soviet society."

Scriven may have had little choice in this first important accounting of Sartre's journalism but to offer it all up mainly as a chronology. The detail with which he does this is invaluable, and he is a fine writer who presents with clarity. The price he pays, however, is to leave incomplete our understanding of the influence of Sartre's remarkably private intellectual life on his very public life as a journalist. Useful though Scriven's work most certainly is, there is more to be done, and one hopes that Michael Scriven may turn his hand to the task. We need to explore the links between Sartre's philosophies and his journalism.

>Andrew M. Osler, University of Western Ontario

The Troubles of Journalism: A Critical Look at What's Right and Wrong With the Press.

By William A. Hachten, Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1998, 188 pp.

William A. Hachten's professional experience with journalism and journalism education spans 50 years. In this compact book, he reflects on the many changes he has witnessed in the profession. His view is that of a newspaperman whose career almost precisely coincides with the rise of television. Television proves to be the major culprit in his critique of the press, particularly for dismantling the traditional "fire wall" between journalism and entertainment, and trivializing the news. Scarcely less

culpable is corporate journalism with its bottom-line mentality. When news media are swallowed up by giant entertainment companies, the press not only loses its aggressiveness in reporting hard news, but also its nerve in pursuing the often costly responsibility of defending press freedom. Hachten laments the decline of public affairs journalism, "the lifeblood of democracy."

These evaluations of journalism are hardly original. What Hachten brings to the analysis is context and perspective, including an eye for historical continuity. The discussion ranges from the theory and values of the First Amendment to the potential of the Internet for the 21st century. Hachten argues that the traditional skills of journalism are as much in demand today as ever to manage the responsible flow of information in cyberspace. Hachten has a particular interest in foreign affairs reporting and devotes two of 14 chapters to the topic. One chapter treats the coverage of Africa as a special case, probing patterns of news neglect. The overall conclusion of his examination of international news is that an illusion of expansive coverage exists.

Global electronic communication gives the impression that all corners of the world are as accessible to us as our television remote buttons. But Hachten observes that American journalism remains doggedly provincial. News from abroad is actually on the decline. New technologies have led to fewer foreign correspondents. The ability to get reporters in and out of locations quickly has led to "parachute journalism." Journalists hop around vast international news beats, no longer living among the people or cultures they thrust into the news spotlight.

How useful is Hachten's book to historians? There are no historical revelations here for the scholar. Only one chapter is devoted directly to a history of the press. However, teachers of media history and their students can expect modest rewards. For one thing, Hachten speaks across two generations of time from his own personal experiences of the craft. A sense of lived history permeates his slant on the contemporary problems of the media.

In addition, the author has a natural proclivity for narrative. His account of each topic invariably has a historical dimension. In his chapter on the press and the military, for example, the reader learns that while only 500 full-time American reporters at any one time covered World War II, 1,600 journalists and their technicians crowded into Saudi Arabia to cover the Persian Gulf War. More is not necessarily better than a few good journalists, especially if they are free to join military units and report from the soldier's point of view.

Hachten has a similar lesson for journalism education. He calls for fewer and better journalism schools that stick to the basics. "By objec-

tively and dispassionately gathering all the important news of the day and making it available to the public, journalism performs an essential public service for our democracy," he writes. Advertising and public relations, he advises, do not meet the professional test and should be taught in the business school. Readers will have to decide for themselves when he is drawing insight from the past, and when he is merely looking back with nostalgia.

>Douglas Birkhead, University of Utah

US News Coverage of Racial Minorities: A Sourcebook, 1934-1996.

By Beverly Ann Deepe Keever, Carolyn Martindale, and Mary Ann Weston, (eds.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1998, 408 pp.

It comes as no surprise to the reader of this collection that mainstream news in the United States has typically ignored, stereotyped, and distorted racial minorities. From coverage of European - Americans' earliest encounters with Native Americans to the most recent reports of Hispanic or African American life in urban ghettos, the mainstream press has reflected the contemporary ideology of white dominance as well as amplified public prejudices about racial minorities.

What this collection does, however, is provide a comprehensive and compelling picture of the mainstream media's consistently negative and damaging treatment of these groups over time. With more racial minorities in the newsroom today and conscious but sporadic attempts being made to present minorities in a positive fashion, one would expect to see a substantive change in coverage. But though affirmative action has come and, alas, gone, and the words "multicultural" and "diversity" have become a regular part of the vocabulary, it is clear from this work that racial minorities are still considered outsiders by mainstream media.

As the editors point out, American journalists are influenced not only by the dominant ideology of the American culture, but also are bound by time-honored journalistic work codes such as "objectivity," timeliness, and crisis- and conflict-oriented reporting. "Old news habits die hard" and the onus is on news practitioners as well as journalism educators to consciously, conscientiously, and consistently promote coverage that reflects accurately the multicultural world in which we live.

US New Coverage of Racial Minorities serves as a valuable resource to scholars. It provides a clear, concise history of the various racial minorities in the United States as they have interacted with the dominant power structure and an exhaustive review of the literature on how the news

media treated those groups. It also identifies areas where scholarship is lacking and indicates fertile ground for further research. The collection presents individual chapters on five racial groups: Native Americans, African Americans, Hispanic Americans, Pacific Islanders, and Asian Americans. Finally, two chapters are devoted specifically to investigative reporting and the FCC's public interest mandate.

Although the collection's editors chose to focus on the years 1934-1996, the authors of several individual chapters (notably those on Native Americans, Asian Americans, and Pacific Islanders) fortunately do not always follow this mandate and devote considerable discussion to earlier periods of importance to the group they are discussing. In their chapter on Native Americans, for example, Mary Ann Weston and John M. Coward discuss early press coverage of Native Americans from the colonial period to the Indian Wars in the 19th century. Through this discussion they identify the emergence of the enduring twin stereotypes of the Indian as either the noble savage or the savage brute. News about Indians has "too often been forced into a mold that does not fit the people or the event," Weston and Coward conclude, and the stereotypes it perpetuates have driven popular perceptions as well as governmental action with devastating results. Today, the authors point out, Native Americans remain near the bottom of indices of income, employment, education, and health and suffer from chronic institutional neglect.

News coverage of African Americans also is dominated by two stereotypes—the savage who is a threat to society, or the happy-go-lucky irresponsible Sambo who is a drain on society's resources. Authors Carolyn Martindale and Lillian Rae Dunlap find that both stereotypes have provided a convenient rationale for the denial of equal rights to African Americans from the days of slavery to the present. According to the authors, newspaper coverage of African Americans has improved since the 1920s when they were largely ignored and the 1940s when only negative news was printed about them. Not only is there more coverage of African Americans today, but it is more complete and representative, due partly, perhaps, to the fact that more African Americans are working in newsrooms than in the past. But, they caution, news coverage continues to focus on black pathology and to ignore serious problems facing African Americans.

Michael B. Salwen and Gonzalo R. Soruco provide a comprehensive discussion of the various ethnic and national groups that fall under the definition of Hispanic. Despite the individual roots of these groups, however, both the Anglo public and the mainstream media have historically failed to differentiate among them. The authors find that, except for periods during which Hispanics such as the Mexicans and the Cubans

were in conflict with the United States (during which they were depicted as cruel and bloodthirsty), Hispanics largely were ignored by the media. Exploited as cheap labor, they only became newsworthy when they challenged the system or became a threat to white labor or the status quo. Then the media once again typically portrayed them in negative and disparaging terms with often devastating results. The authors find that far from improving, media coverage of Hispanics is regressing. Hispanics are increasing portrayed as foreigners and a threat, a trend that seems to go hand-in-hand with the "English First" movement of the 1990s and persistent efforts to restrict immigration.

The same types of patterns can be found in news coverage of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders. When Asian Americans are not portrayed as traitorous and untrustworthy (the Japanese in World War II and in 1990s business takeovers; the Vietnamese during the Vietnam War), they are depicted as "model citizens" who work hard and do well in school. Pacific Islanders, instead, are innocent primitives who have conveniently faded into the tropical sunset as mainland colonizers confiscate their land to build their towns, farms, and resorts for mainland settlers and tourists. Coverage of these people is typically weak, misleading and insulting.

In his discussion of news coverage of Japanese Americans, Thomas H. Heuterman makes an observation that could well apply to all the racial minorities discussed in this book—that such coverage too often serves as an unofficial conduit of hostile government or public opinion. "[The press'] failure of social responsibility and its silence on Constitutional issues demonstrate a continuing crisis for all of us."

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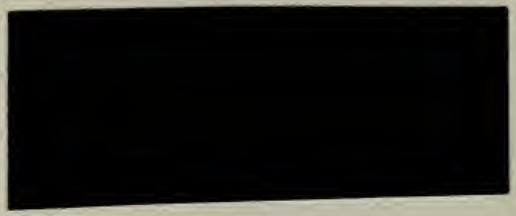
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